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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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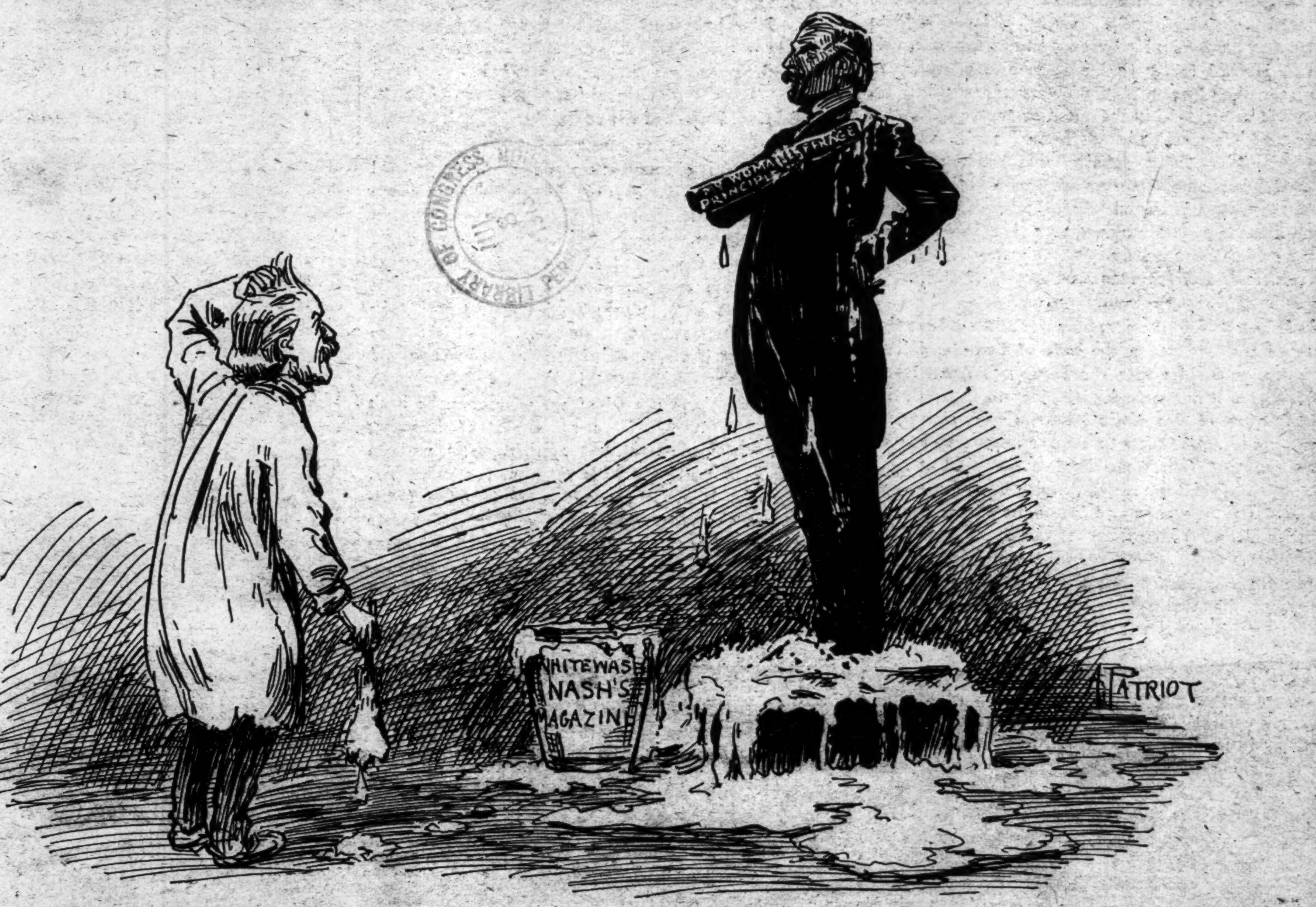
WHITEWASH THAT WON'T STAY ON



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PER

On February 23, 1912, Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at the Albert Hall, said:—"When I hear suggestions that the Government propose not to introduce a Reform Bill, or that it will not be drafted in such a way as to give opportunity for amendment, I say that it is an imputation of deep dishonour which I decline to discuss. No Government could commit such an outrage on public faith without forfeiting the respect of every honest man and woman in the land."

On January 31, 1913, the Speaker ruled that the Bill was drafted in such a way as to be incapable of amendment to include Woman Suffrage.

Writing in the July number of *Nash's Magazine*, Mr. Lloyd George says:—"I say unhesitatingly that the main obstacle to women getting the vote is militancy and nothing else. . . . If they had accepted Mr. Asquith's pledge of two years ago, and thanked him for it and helped him to redeem it, Woman Suffrage by now would have been an accomplished fact."

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

If anything were needed to show how much women are in want of the Parliamentary vote in order to obtain redress for their grievances, it would be provided by the Bill which Mr. Lloyd George introduced on Tuesday last to amend the Insurance Act.

A Flagrant Case

It has been a commonplace among reformers that that Act has proved itself grossly unfair to certain sections of the community, and that the most flagrant case of injustice is its treatment of women. Yet Mr. Lloyd George's amending Bill, while it makes some attempt to deal with nearly every one of the grievances from which men suffer, leaves unaltered the far greater grievances of women. Can anyone doubt that if women possessed the Parliamentary vote, and had in consequence the power to influence elections in a way hostile to the Government, that Mr. Lloyd George would have been at pains to amend the Act so far as they were concerned?

How the Insurance Act is Unjust to Women

The essential and fundamental wrong that the Insurance Act does to women is that it takes premiums paid in out of monies jointly earned by husband and wife, and credits them solely to the man's account. When a man and woman marry, the wife usually gives up earning money and devotes her labour to the home and the children, while the husband continues to work for money wages. The income thus earned is, therefore, the product of their joint labour, and any sum which is put by out of it is the product of their joint sacrifice. Nevertheless, the Insurance Act takes a weekly sum of 4d. out of this family income and credits it solely to the husband. He alone is entitled to sick benefit when ill, and he alone is entitled to the pension of 5s. a week when disabled by old age.

Nothing for the Widow and Orphan

The Bill as originally agreed upon between Mr. Lloyd George and the Friendly Societies, though it did not insure the wife against sickness during the life of her husband secured to her an equal benefit. It provided that in the event of the death of her husband, she should have a weekly pension of 5s., so long as she was left with children under sixteen years of age, and that each of these children should have 1s. 6d. a week until they became sixteen. Mr. Lloyd George deleted this provision from the Bill, and doubled the men's insurance instead, thus making it grossly unfair to women.

2d. for Father, 1d. (perhaps) for Mother

It is quite true that in an amendment introduced into the Act just before it became law there was some attempt to make a show of including married women who devote their work to the home within its provisions. By this amendment married women could voluntarily come under the scheme bv payment of an additional 3d. a week out of the family income. How many married women have availed themselves of this "privilege" we do not know, but we imagine there are very few, for their benefits are not worth having at the price. Fathers get 2d. a week out of State money, and 3d. from the employer to add to their 4d., mothers get only 1d. out of State money to add to their 3d. Fathers are entitled to sanatorium benefit, mothers are not. Fathers get 10s. a week sick benefit for the first thirteen weeks, mothers who have paid 3d. a week get 5s., the rest nothing; fathers all get 5s. a week after thirteen weeks, and a pension to this amount when old, mothers who have paid their 3d. get 3s., the rest nothing.

The Maternity Benefit

Another of the glaring failures of the Act as it affects married women concerns the payment of the vaunted maternity benefit. Instead of being paid to the mother, as undoubtedly ought to be the case, this benefit is paid to the husband; moreover, owing to the necessity of complying with certain regulations, payment is often delayed for ten or twelve days. We note that the usual "sympathetic" reply, with no promise of anything definite, was lately given to a deputation from the Women's Co-operative Guild, who recently waited on Mr. Masterman, to urge upon him the need for amendment on this point, and to give him illustrations of the abuse of the benefit by fathers and of the untoward results of delay.

Unmarried Women and Widows

It is not only in the case of wives and mothers that devoted work given to the care of home and little ones is penalised under the Insurance Act. Every year that the unmarried girl gives to home duties, taking care of her little brothers and sisters, or nursing her aged father or mother is reckoned to her disadvantage. While she is thus occupied at home she is precluded from benefit, and if she subsequently becomes a wage-earner and enters the scheme she gets smaller benefits ever afterwards in consequence. On the other hand, the widow with young children is generally only eligible for the voluntary side of the scheme, and as this would mean a weekly contribution of 6d. out of her scant earnings, she remains outside.

Paying Without Return

Finally, there are considerable sections of women who are mulcted by the Insurance Act of a steady drain upon their resources, and who get practically nothing in return. Among these are included nurses, high-grade typists, domestic servants, and charwomen; to all these for one reason or another the provisions of the Act are entirely unsuitable. The low-grade factory worker must also be included in this category; her lot is particularly hard, for the employer generally contrives to make her bear the burden of his share as well as her own by the simple expedient of discharging her and re-engaging her at a salary reduced by the amount of his contribution; and yet owing to the casual character of her work she is generally in arrears, and therefore gets nothing but the medical benefit which before the Act she obtained free of all charge at the hospital.

Votes Alone Will Secure Redress

Mr. Lloyd George is perfectly aware of these grievances of women, for they have been brought before him by Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike. Yet he does nothing to redress them, nor is he ever likely to do so until he or his successor is constrained to act by the *force majeure* exerted upon him by the votes of women at the polling booth. To the enfranchisement of women must we therefore look forward as the sole hope of securing for women adequate attention at the hands of the Government and the legislature.

Release of Prisoners

The past week has seen the release, under the Cat and Mouse Act, of all the seven prisoners sentenced on Tuesday, June 17, in connection with the Conspiracy Trial of the W.S.P.U. Miss Kenney, Miss Barrett, Miss Lake, and Miss Lennox were released on Saturday, Mrs. Sanders on Monday, Mr. Edwy Clayton on Tuesday, and Miss Kerr on Wednesday. All the prisoners had adopted the hunger strike, all the prisoners were released because, in the opinion of the prison doctor, their continuance in prison would be dangerous to their life. We are informed also that in all cases the finger-prints of the prisoners were taken before release—a form of petty indignity which only petty minds could have devised.

What Next?

According to the terms of their license they are liable to re-arrest if they do not return to prison at the end of eight days. We are therefore threatened with the same degrading and revolting sequence of events in their cases that we are already witnessing with regard to Mrs. Pankhurst and other prisoners. Is it not time that the public bestirred itself and declared that these things shall not be?

Those Only Technically Guilty

Moreover, barbarous as we hold the provisions of the Cat and Mouse Act to be under all circumstances, its brutality will, if possible, be increased if it is put into force against persons who cannot be said to be more than technically guilty of the offences for which they have been sentenced. No real case was ever made out by the prosecution against Miss Kerr, Miss Lake, Miss Lennox, Mrs. Sanders, or Miss Barrett of taking a direct part in the "conspiracy." And so far as the first three of these are concerned it is a matter of common knowledge that they have not at any time played any part in the militant agitation except to carry out purely routine work. Miss Lake and Miss Lennox were quite subordinate employees. As to Miss Kerr, we are informed that a special statement is being prepared showing that she deliberately confined herself to the constitutional work of the office.

A Plea for Absolute Release

Under these circumstances we make a special appeal to Mr. McKenna (and to the public who can influence his decisions) not to carry into execution with regard to these women the terms of the license, but to take the rational view that their technical guilt has been amply atoned for by their double imprisonment and hunger strike, firstly while on remand, and secondly after sentence. It will be said, perhaps, that if the terms of the license be cancelled and absolute release granted in its place, these women will, after a short period of convalescence, be back at their posts. We have no means of knowing whether this be so or not, but even if it be so, we hold that this is no legitimate ground for objection. Neither the W.S.P.U., nor *The Suffragette* newspaper, nor the Woman's Press have been declared to be in themselves illegal. The present staffs of these enterprises are not being arrested or tried. The conspiracy of which the prisoners were accused was not that of belonging to the W.S.P.U., or of working for it, but of illegally procuring damage to property, and if they were technically guilty of this conspiracy a heavy price has already been paid by them.

Dublin Mansion House for Protest Meeting

We are glad to learn that the Lord Mayor of Dublin has consented to allow the Mansion House to be used for a great meeting of protest against the application of the Cat and Mouse Act to Ireland. It will be remembered that three Woman Suffrage prisoners were recently released from Tullamore Prison under this Act. They had carried out a hunger strike in view of the failure of the authorities to accord to them the full measure of political treatment to which they claimed they were entitled.

Mr. Bernard Shaw's Incisive Logic

In a powerful letter which appeared in the *Times* on Wednesday last, extracts from which we give on page 574, Mr. Bernard Shaw asks a male critic of the militant movement what he would do under the following circumstances:—

> Suppose a Government of women, coming to the conclusion that he, being male, was not human, refused him the vote, excluded him from Parliament and from the juries by whom persons of his sex had to be tried, turned him out of Court on occasions when questions most intimately affecting his sex were at issue, wrote up on the walls of the churches that a woman's property included her ox and her ass and her husband and everything that was hers, and absolutely refused to be moved from this position by any appeal to reason or feeling, merely pointing out superciliously from time to time that his letters showed an unbalanced mind, and that some of the best men had never had votes, had avoided serving on juries, and had been proud and glad to wheel perambulators instead of unsexing themselves by pushing into women's professions.

We await the answer of the critic with interest, not unmixed with amused anticipation.

Women Writers on the Reason for Rebellion

Prominent women writers, including Mrs. F. A. Steel, Miss Robins, Mrs Meynell (whose name has been discussed as the next Poet Laureate), Mrs. Zangwill, Miss Harraden, Miss Sharp, and Miss Sinclair, have addressed a letter to the Press in which they state that as women who stand shoulder to shoulder with men in the art of literature, sharing its pleasures and pains, its rights and its wrongs, they "assert and maintain that the present attitude of rebellion, anarchy, and defiance which many otherwise loyal and law-abiding women have adopted towards the Government, is largely due to the lack of straight dealing and to the almost inconceivable blundering of that Government" with regard to the question of Woman Suffrage.

Mr. Hewitt's Action at Ascot Races

The tragedy of the race for the Derby, when Miss Emily Wilding Davison gave her life to make a protest on behalf of Votes for Women, was repeated at the race for the Gold Cup at Ascot last Thursday. A man, Mr. Harold Hewitt, threw himself in front of the horses, waving a flag. He was immediately knocked down and carried insensible to the hospital. At first it was not expected that he would live, but latterly hopes for his recovery have been entertained. No one else was injured. He is not, as was at first supposed, a member of any Suffrage society. On the other hand, he was not lacking in mental balance, as was subsequently asserted. All that is known is that he was a man who hated the brutality of modern life, and had been profoundly moved by the action of Miss Davison. If, as everyone must profoundly hope, he fully recovers, the mystery which at present surrounds his motives will no doubt be made clear.

The International Congress

We are glad to see that at the International Woman Suffrage Congress at Budapest an effective protest was made by Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson against the red-tape application to Great Britain of the rule that only one Suffrage organisation of each country can be represented. The effect of this rule has been that the Congress has hitherto been deprived of the splendid enthusiasm and comradeship which would have been contributed to it by the presence as delegates of the representatives of the militant organisations. We understand that this protest was greeted with hearty applause, and we therefore hope that before the Congress meets again a way of satisfactorily meeting the situation will have been found.

More Resignations of Women Liberals

Each week that the Liberal Party continue in their suicidal course of denying the application of their fundamental principle of self-government to women sees further secession from their ranks. During the past week the withdrawals have included the honoured names of Mrs. Thew and Mrs. Rowntree, who have retired from the Southport Men's Liberal Association as a protest against the Anti-Suffrage opinions of that body.

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WOMEN PILGRIMS ON THE MARCH

The Women's Pilgrimage, organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, has now started in real earnest. All the great roads into London, from North, South, East and West, will soon have their bands of women marchers, all converging towards a great meeting to be held in Hyde Park on Saturday, July 26. By that time Mrs. Fawcett and other well-known leaders of the N.U.W.S.S. will have joined the marchers, and will walk to Hyde Park with them, there to take part in the speeches that will be made from twenty platforms.

The Really Impressive Thing

Important as a Hyde Park demonstration always is, the really impressive thing about this Woman Suffrage Pilgrimage will be that slow approach of women from the ends of the country, marching steadily, inexorably, in five or six regiments, to their goal. And although their obvious goal is London and a Hyde Park demonstration, their real goal is the much bigger one to which women pilgrims from all over the world are converging, some with sticks in their hands and some with swords. That is the real significance of this women's march. Many who cannot otherwise see where the woman of to-day is going to, will be able, perhaps, to visualize her aims and her end, when they see bands of women marching up all the great roads into London, preaching their Gospel as they come, demanding their freedom when they have arrived.

ON THE ROAD

Pilgrims are wearing dark blue, white or grey, all of which make a good background for the N.U.W.S.S. colours—red, white, and green. There is a special Pilgrimage badge in the colours, to be procured from headquarters, and marchers are asked to wear straw hats trimmed with red, white and green ribbon. A pleasant degree of uniformity will thus be achieved, and as the pilgrims will walk always in marching order, the different Federations bringing their own banners, the effect upon the countryside should be considerable. Many who cannot walk will come in motors or carriages, and a bicycle corps will also be attached to the marchers. This corps is going to be very useful, its chief business being to distribute leaflets and other literature of the National Union in all the towns and villages passed through. The members of the bicycle corps will also attend all the meetings given on the route, whether indoor or outdoor, selling the paper and getting into touch with people in the audience.

A great feature of the Pilgrimage will be the meetings held on the way. These are arranged locally, though headquarters are responsible for the whole programme. In those places where the Pilgrims are expected to arrive during the daytime, meetings are to be held in the open air; in the evening, meetings will be indoors. These meetings should be a great success, for the ordinary Britisher loves a novelty, and will probably come out of curiosity to see and hear the women who are marching many miles across England for the propagation of their cause.

PRACTICAL DETAILS

Haversacks made in the colours have been specially designed for Pilgrims to wear with the colours, slung across their shoulders. Some contingents are arranging to have their baggage conveyed in a decorated cart or wagon. Either way is good, for it will add to the colour that the marchers will carry with them wherever they go.

Not every one, of course, will be able to march all the way; so it is suggested that pilgrims should join one or another of the processions when and where they please, and march as far as they can. Those living off the route are invited to form themselves into smaller pilgrimages, joining the larger ones at any given point that is convenient. Naturally, the Pilgrims who have the longest way to go have been the earliest to start. The great North Road Pilgrimage, starting from Newcastle, was the first to leave on June 18. This route passes through Durham, Ripon, Harrogate, Leeds, Sheffield, Grantham, Huntingdon, Hitchin, Hatfield, and many intermediate towns and villages. The West Country one from Land's End started on June 19, the principal towns along this route are Plymouth, Exeter, Wells, Bristol, Bath, Marlborough, Newbury, Reading, Maidenhead. A Pilgrimage is also on its way from Carlisle along Watling Street, with which Lady Rochdale is marching, and which will pass through the following towns: Kendal, Lancaster, Liverpool, Chester, Stafford, Lichfield, Birmingham, Warwick, Oxford, High Wycombe, and Watford.

From the South

Southern Pilgrimages will be starting in July—the Portsmouth marchers somewhere about July 18, touching on the way at Petersfield, Haslemere, Godalming, and Guildford, and those from Brighton on July 21, coming through Cuckfield, Crawley, Reigate, and Redhill. The Kentish Pilgrim's Way will also see its regiment of blue and grey and white women, tramping Londonwards under their red, white, and green banner, later on in July, coming from Canterbury, Margate, Dover, Folkestone, and marching through Rochester, Maidstone, Tonbridge, and Sevenoaks.

"The Personal Appeal"

As the *Common Cause* points out, the strength of the appeal made by the Pilgrimage will lie in the fact that it is a personal appeal. The same paper goes on to say:—

"We would like to remind our readers that this pilgrimage has a twofold character. It is the renewal of our personal dedication to the great cause we have undertaken to serve by every lawful means in our power. It is also the outward symbol of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of unfaltering devotion to the work handed on to us by the men and women who initiated the movement for this reform, and who trusted to us to carry it on until victory was won. They were the pioneers who cleared the road for our following feet. Their task is accomplished, but ours lies before us still—to complete what was begun. Everyone who responds to the call to the open road will lessen the work, and hasten the time when justice and reason give assent to the claims of unenfranchised women. Come and join the Pilgrimage—

"'Light foot and tight foot,
And green grass spread,
Early in the morning,
But hope is on ahead.'"

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FROM A "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOW

A Fellow at Ambleside who is taking great interest in the Women's Pilgrimage, writes: "I am just back from selling and distributing VOTES FOR WOMEN at the National Union open-air meeting in Ambleside. I made badges in the colours and flew long streamers on my whip with the words, 'VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship,' painted on them. They looked most fetching, and we hung the carriage round with placards. I wonder whether other Fellows would, when they can afford a shilling or two, buy copies and sell them at these National Union meetings? Of course, this is only a humble suggestion, just the outcome of to-day's meeting."

THE REAL ENTENTE

(*Special message to* VOTES FOR WOMEN)

The following message has been sent to us by Mlle Denizard, who was the woman candidate in the last French Presidential Elections:—

Au nom des femmes françaises du Nord-Ouest, et à l'heure où le Président Poincaré, qui a toute leur confiance et tout leur respect, touche le sol britannique, Mademoiselle Marie Denizard envoie à ses sœurs anglaises l'hommage cordial de son fraternel salut.

(Signed) **MARIE DENIZARD.**

WOMEN IN POLITICS & EDUCATION

IMPORTANT RESIGNATIONS OF WOMEN LIBERALS

Two of the best known women Liberals in Southport, Mrs. Thew and Mrs. Rowntree, have retired from the executive of the Men's Liberal Association there, as a protest against the Anti-Suffrage opinions of that body. We are informed on good authority that there is a very strong feeling of resentment among the Southport Women Liberals against the Government, on account of their treatment of woman suffragists, and further developments are expected shortly. This can readily be believed, as Mrs. Thew is President and Mrs. Rowntree Secretary of the Southport Women's Liberal Association. A letter explaining their resignation has been sent to the *Southport Guardian* by the two retiring members of the Liberal Executive, from which we select the following passages:—

"It is a matter of deep concern and regret to us that the Executive of the Southport Liberal Association rejected the following resolution at their meeting of the 13th inst.:—'That this meeting of the Executive of the Liberal Association (Southport Division) is of opinion that no extension of the franchise will be satisfactory which does not include some measure of enfranchisement for women. . . . .

"We wished to ascertain the feeling of the Executive towards our enfranchisement; and they have given us their verdict. It seems incredible that any persons calling themselves Liberals can be found to deny this fundamental principle of Liberalism. We desire intensely to help in the moral and social uplifting of men and women and children, and with this end in view feel that the possession of the franchise is absolutely as necessary to women as to men.

"Hitherto we have looked to the Liberals to bring about this just method of reform, but as they have declared their unwillingness to help us, we, in common with hundreds of women holding similar views, feel that we cannot continue to work with any organisation which ignores our just claim; and we therefore can no longer remain as representatives of the Women's Liberal Association on the Southport Executive."

WOMEN LIBERALS AT LEICESTER

We cannot wonder that Women Liberals, whose Liberalism depends on principle and not on party, feel that there is no alternative for them but to secede from their Associations, when we read in the *Manchester Guardian* that the Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation have sent Miss McLaren Ramsay, organising secretary, and Mrs. Mauchlen, one of the organisers of the Federation, "to render all possible assistance to Mr. Hewart" at the Leicester by-election. Mr. Hewart is reported to have said, in reply to a question submitted to him by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, that he was in favour of women's suffrage, *but he was not prepared to oppose any Bill for manhood suffrage that excluded women*, although he would advocate the inclusion of women.

If "all possible assistance" is to be rendered to weak-kneed suffragists of the order of Mr Hewart, the Federation who render it cannot complain of the secession of their most effective members in all parts of the country.

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ENFORCED WOMEN BLACKLEGS

The L.C.C. Education Committee has accepted a recommendation of a sub-committee, urging that the experiment be sanctioned of employing women teachers in infants' departments to take the lowest classes in the boys' departments. Mr. Bruce urged that all children under the age of ten should be taught by women, and Mr. Craig added that women teachers among boys had been an undoubted success.

The recommendation was agreed to, but not until after Mr. Ray had opposed "another invasion of women into places men should have," and declared that the streets of London were walked by men teachers, trained very largely at the public expense, and yet unable to find occupation.

The whole discussion merely reveals the economic muddle which has been produced by the unequal payment of men and women teachers. If women teach boys better than men do, it is obviously better for the State that the posts should be given to women, even if this does mean the displacement of men teachers. But as long as women teachers are paid less than men for the same work it is impossible to be sure whether they obtain the men's posts because they are better than men, or only because they are cheaper. But it is not fair to blame them for being blacklegs when it is their political non-existence that allows the Government to pay them less than men. The question will never be properly settled until the women Civil servants get the vote, when, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself has said, it will be impossible for any Government long to maintain such a dual system of payment.

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ARE BOYS MORE NERVOUS THAN GIRLS?

Some interesting facts are given in the Annual Report of the Senior School Medical Inspector for Staffordshire, for the year 1912, with regard to the greater prevalence of nervous affections among boys than among girls. "We are so accustomed," he writes, "to look upon girls as less sturdy than boys—more delicate, irritable, nervous, and so forth—that I think it will come as a surprise to find how much more often boys suffer from the graver nervous affections than girls."

The Report proceeds to show that whereas in lisping and functional disorders of the nervous system, boys and girls contribute substantially equal numbers, in headache girls show a marked preponderance. "But," says the Report, "in the other nervous and mental defects, including all the really serious ones—mental deficiency, epilepsy, paralysis, asthma, stammering—boys are markedly worse off than girls." For instance, in the table given in the Report, the relative numbers of boys and girls described as "dull and backward," per 10,000 cases examined, are 901 boys to 623 girls; in "mental defect and imbecile" cases, 49 boys to 31 girls; in "stammering" cases, 67 boys to 20 girls; in "indistinctness of speech," 84 boys to 43 girls; in paralysis, 29 boys to 18 girls; and in epilepsy, 13 boys to 6 girls. On the other hand, under the heading of "headache," we find 293 girls to 181 boys."

"Some Essential Difference of Stability?"

"What the general figures mean precisely it may be difficult to say," comments the Report on this remarkable table. "They seem to suggest some essential difference of stability in the nervous system as between boys and girls." It then remarks that an explanation has been sought of the greater prevalence of dulness among boys in the well-known fact that the brain of girls reaches its maximum weight at about the seventh year, whereas that of boys is a growing organ until a much later age. A proof of this theory might be sought in children below the age of seven, if in them the various disorders were found to be equally divided between boys and girls. "Unfortunately," says the Report, "we cannot test this in the case of mental dulness, because we do not attempt to estimate it in children of 5—6, but we have records of the speech defects. The figures give no support to the theory. At all the age periods studied, 5—6, 8—9, 12—14, there is a marked excess of stammering, indistinctness of speech, and idioglossia among boys, while lisping cases are about equally divided among boys and girls at all ages."

National Scandals

We do not quote these facts to prove that girls are superior to boys because they are girls, nor even to emphasise the fact particularly that boys are not necessarily superior to girls because they happen to be boys; but the outstanding fact in a Report of the kind we have just quoted is that bad housing, bad wages, and bad conditions generally are responsible for an immense number of unfit children being brought into the world, and that until women have the vote and the power to attack these national scandals, Reports of School Medical Officers will continue to be heartrending documents that are a disgrace to an Empire that pretends to be the greatest in the world.

DO WOMEN MALINGER?

By Gwynneth Chapman

A short time ago, our House of Commons, discussing an unimportant question of Votes for Women, became the stage of one of those little comedies that are arranged, occasionally, to bring relief to minds overwrought by deliberations on more weighty matters—such as ventilation, how much food an hon. member may consume for a shilling, and whether the shameless bloater be allowed to diffuse malodorous vapours in the sacred atmosphere of the tea-room.

Among the comic actors was a doughty champion of mothers; the mothers of the working class in particular. Surely these had deserved well of that assembly? Had not one, more blessed than the rest, borne George, Lord-Protector-of-the-Poor, and thereby cast over her peers the halo of a peculiar eligibility for citizenship? The working mother must have a vote, whoever else might be left out. That is, should there be any votes going. The exquisite humour of the comedy lay in the knowledge that there would be none The married woman and mother of the wage-earning class was publicly declared the backbone of the nation, the fount of all social and domestic sanctities.

Such unwonted praise seems to have been fatal as flattery in Eden. It appeared to her that under these circumstances she was going too cheap. Why should she not make life one long picnic, at seven-and-sixpence a week, obtainable from a generous State on easy terms of ill-health?

The champion of mothers is shocked; the fount of domestic sanctity is, after all, only a common malingerer. He is now all for the spinster; she is cheaper to the State by so many times seven-and-sixpence. Let us have more of her!

So runs the story which Mr. Kingsley Wood, L.C.C., and Mr. Handel Booth, M.P. unfolded at the National Insurance Conference, held as a preliminary to the amending of the Act. It seemed to be rather a case of amendments casting shadows before. There was not a tittle of evidence to justify the accusation against the working-class mother.

Said Mr. Kingsley Wood, quoting from his sole authority, "the figures of a moderately large society. . . . During the first quarter of administration there were 4.32 men, and 4.8 women on the funds . . . . in the current quarter, although perhaps the lightest in sickness, there were two women to every man, and the women were remaining on twice as long as the men. . . . It was a grave state of affairs, because while women should cost the approved societies 1¾d. per week, these women were costing as much as 2d."

A horrible state of affairs indeed, in a nation whose bill for drink (consumed chiefly by the male population) runs to well over fifty millions sterling per annum!

From this damning evidence Mr. Handel Booth "naturally inferred there must be something in the nature of malingering" to account for these "excessive claims." It was further "inferred" that the inducement to the crime lay in the approximation of the sum obtainable in sick pay to the low average wage of the woman worker. No one suggested that the wage should be raised in order to remove this occasion of sin. No one among these presumed experts happened to know that (as Mr. Harold Spender pointed out in the Press) the disparity between the claims of the two sexes under the Act was even greater in the textile districts where women are paid double, and more than double, in wages the amount to be got by "malingering"

Everyone forgot to mention whether maternity cases were included in these seven-and-sixpenny debauches of insured matrons. We should like to know if confinements are counted among these striking testimonies to the insalubrity of married life for the female population?

Are the figures worth anything? The Secretary of the Prudential Approved Societies, numbering over a million women members, testified in the Press that he had no evidence of "widespread malingering" among them. Private enquiries elicited the following facts from other societies:

1.—Woman's Society, taking all classes; one-eighth married members; 1¼ per cent. in receipt of sick pay.

2.—Friendly Society; domestic servants only; 1½ per cent. receiving benefit. (Both these societies admit without medical examination, and so tend to get persons refused by other societies.)

3.—Woman's Society; all classes of Industrial and Professional women; medical examination; 11,000 members; 1 per cent. in receipt of benefit.

It is for the panel doctors to rebut the public aspersion upon their honour involved in their complicity with the malingerers. We are interested in one vital point on which they might throw much light. What is the nature of the diseases under whose name women are accused of malingering? Obviously, if not seasonal or epidemic, as appeared from Mr. Kingsley Wood's indictment, they are chronic complaints. What are they? What causes them? On these vital questions the Conference was unaccountably dumb.

The insured working mother will have cause to bless her maligners if their slander results in an inquiry on these points.

Let us agitate for this. Let us also demand that when statistics of ill-health among the mothers of the poor are made public, it shall not be as a prelude to further penalising of these victims, but to measures for their relief.

WHAT THE BABY THOUGHT OF IT

By Evelyn Sharp

"Well," growled the bulldog, "you've been here some months now. What do you think of the world —I should say, of the British Empire? Not so bad, is it?"

The Baby stopped sucking her toe and crowed. "It's going to be a good deal better by the time I've done with it, I hope," she said.

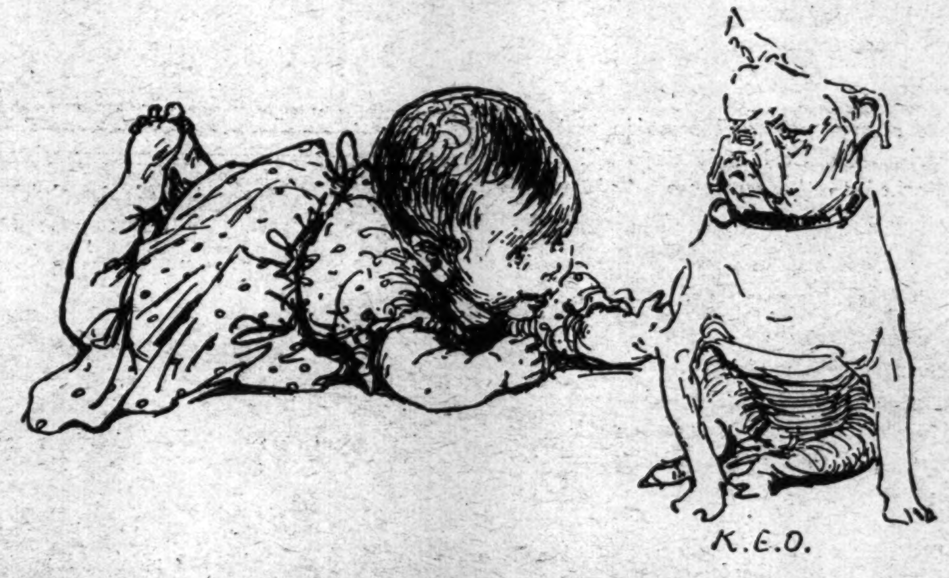
The bulldog sat up. "Indeed!" he said. "You do surprise me. What's wrong with it?"

"Too full of good advice and bad laws," replied the Baby. "And not nearly enough to eat. And no room to breathe."

"I've never noticed anything of the kind," said the bulldog with dignity. "Never."

"You wouldn't," crowed the Baby, making a grab at his leg. "You're not a mother. You've only got to be a mother for five minutes in this world—I mean British Empire— to find out what's wrong with it."

It is a little difficult for a bulldog to go on being dignified when a Baby is pulling his leg; but this bulldog did his best. "It is true," he confessed, "that I am not a mother. But I have the deepest and holiest respect——"



"YOU'RE NOT A MOTHER"

"Oh, dear!" sighed the Baby, letting go of the bulldog's leg and making a grab at his tail. "They all say that! I wish I knew what it meant. Ever since I came to this place they've been making life hard for my mother, either with good advice or bad laws, and all the time they keep telling her what a splendid thing it is to be a mother. First of all, quite soon after I arrived, there was a thing called a—a maternity benefit——"

"My precious!" said the Baby's mother, making a dash across the room all covered with soapsuds, and picking the Baby off the floor. "Did it have a nasty choke, then? There, there!"

When the Baby had been turned over on her face, and patted, and put down on the floor again, she resumed her conversation with the bulldog.

"I won't say it again," she crowed; "but you know the thing I mean."

"I do," said the bulldog, removing his tail out of the Baby's reach. "The maternity benefit is the State's gift to the mother in token of the service she has rendered to the British Empire——"

"You don't say so!" exclaimed the Baby. "I thought it was the State's gift to the landlord. Down our court it always goes to pay the back rent. But no doubt you are right. Still, if it is the State's gift to the mother, why is it given to the father? Not at all the proper way to make a gift, in *my* opinion!"

The bulldog tactfully shifted his ground. "Insured married women under the Act can get sick pay," he remarked. "No doubt, however, you are much too young to understand these things."

"Nobody is ever young down our court," sighed the Baby. "I grew old the moment I opened my eyes in this place. Father was out tramping for work, and the other children were crying for breakfast because they were late for school; and when the neighbour came in to get it for them, she found there wasn't any breakfast to get. Oh, you are never young when once you have arrived in this corner of the British Empire!"

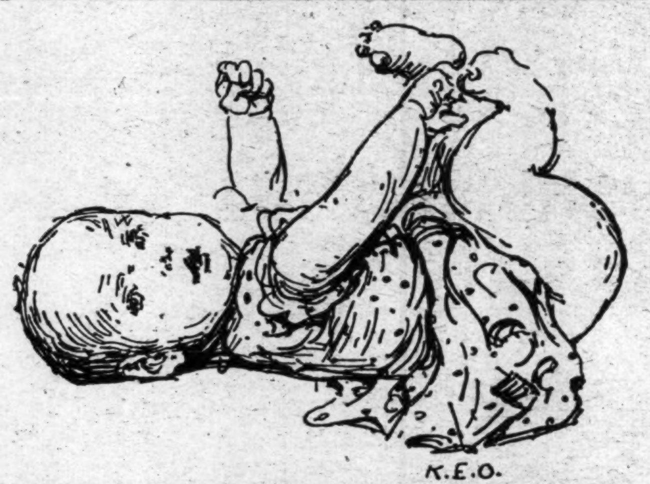
The bulldog made generous allowance for feminine inconsistency. "We were talking about sick pay," he reminded her. "Recently published statistics show that far more sick pay goes to women than to men. That just shows how much more care is taken of women than of men by the State."

"Indeed?" said the Baby, crumpling up her face in surprise. "If women are so much more sick than men, it looks to me as though the State took much *less* care of them than of the men."

"You don't understand," said the bulldog indulgently. "It doesn't follow, because women draw sick pay, that they are really sick. There is such a thing as malingering, you know."

The Baby suddenly rolled over on her face and flourished her bare toes in the air. She could crow better that way. "My mother gets up at six," she gurgled. "She has to go down five flights of stairs to fetch the water; then she gets father's breakfast—

there always has to be breakfast for fathers, down our court, because fathers go to work—and cleans his boots and gets him off to work in time so that he doesn't lose his job—if he's got a job. Then she gets the children's breakfast, and dresses them and gets them ready for school. Then she puts their dinner ready, and goes down for more water and cleans me up and gives me to the neighbour to look after. Then she goes to the factory and works all day—she gets eight shillings at the end of the week for that, and she generally loses her job altogether when she is making gifts, like me, to the British Empire. Then she comes home and gets father's supper—no one else has supper down our court—and finds his pipe and packs him off to the club. Then she puts the children to bed, and after that she cleans the place down and begins to mend everybody's clothes. That goes on till long after father comes home to bed. Then she gets up again at six the next morning and does it all over again."



I CAN TELL YOU WHAT THE EMPIRE DOES WITH ITS NOBLE MOTHERS."

"What would the Empire do without its noble mothers?" said the bulldog, with large fat pink tears in his eyes.

"I can tell you what the Empire does *with* its noble mothers," said the Baby, rolling over on her back again and beating at the air with her tiny fists. "The Empire is horrified because mothers get ill when they live lives like my mother's, day after day, and week after week. The Empire says that my noble mother is a malingerer."

"Well, well," yawned the bulldog, stretching himself. "It's time I was moving on."

"*It is*," agreed the Baby. And she resumed the sucking of her toe.

CÆSAR'S OR GOD'S?

By Flora Annie Steel

No text has been called in question more often either for God or for Cæsar than the one indicated in my title. Every martyr for every cause has used it as his warranty for passive or even active resistance. Every Government takes it as its basis for compulsion. And Time has gone on its way, showing unerringly after long years on which side lay justice. Of that both resisters and compellers may be sure—Time will prove the right.

Now, I have been asked to write a few words in this paper on the aspect of tax-resistance as a means for furthering the objects which every Suffragist has at heart, and I begin by reminding myself and others of the Great Arbitrament which lies behind all things finite, the judgment which will surely be given in the years to come

This being so, the one and only question remaining for settlement is, "Have we women the right to resist taxation?"

Legally, it seems to me as a strictly constitutional Suffragist, that we have. Old, obsolete, disused, Statutes should naturally be removed from the Statute Book; but when, through the slackness of legislation, they are not so removed, and when, as is the case at present, some of these antiquated rulings are being utilised by the Government against women, it only seems fair that we should claim the benefit of others. There is no monopoly in Statutes of Edward the First. If Mr. Bodkin uses one, we may use another! What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Now, Statute 25 of Edward I. says that no tax shall be imposed without the assent of the *representatives of those taxed*. We women have no representatives; therefore we cannot legally be taxed unless we have a vote. So far as local rates go women ratepayers have the power of electing their representatives, therefore such rates are legal and should be paid. In like manner, women who by living in London, Scotland, or Ireland, qualify under the mysterious muddle of the Municipal Franchise Bill, have *no right* as loyal subjects to resist Council taxation; but similarly placed yet voteless women in England and Wales, are. in my opinion, fully justified in refusal to conform to a senseless, silly, and arbitrary distinction.

Also, no woman has any Parliamentary, or, as I may call it, Imperial representative; therefore it is illegal and unconstitutional to ask her to pay Imperial taxes. Women in their refusal are plainly on the side of law and order. It is the Government which is unconstitutional.

Apart from this purely legal point there is another which, in its way, is quite as strong. I put it to a well-known Parliamentarian the other day, and he replied wrathfully that it was "a platform argument." But he did not meet it.

Briefly, for the purposes of the Finance Act, a woman is considered "a person." For the purposes of the Franchise Act she is held to be "a thing." Now this is impossible. You cannot, even in politics, eat your cake and have it. Either a woman by her sex is a thing; therefore does not come within the scope of the Finance Act; or, despite her sex, she is a person, and so comes within the pale of the Franchise Act. Men must pay their penny and take their choice. If they want the woman's farthings they must give her the vote. If they deny her the vote they must do without her pennies. Nothing can be more logical; it is simplicity itself.

So much for the lower point of legality. There remains to be considered whether the object, for the sake of which this constitutional resistance is made, is a worthy one. Briefly, it is really of God.

The non-payment of taxation is in itself a triviality; but as a means to an end should it be employed?

I think it should. We women are fighting a great fight. We are fighting for humanity at large, to regain for it what we women made it lose in the far past. Again briefly, we are fighting to bruise the serpent's head. Men do not see this. How should they, fettered as they are by the chains which we have forged for them? But those of us who see the error of the past, who visualise a fairer future in which man, by giving woman her freedom, has regained his own, are bound to use every fair weapon on which we can lay our hands. We are bound to resist taxation; for we can do so legally, constitutionally. The action is, as I say, trivial in itself, but cumulatively it must draw attention to the present disharmony of the woman's position. This disharmony is the root of all the jars, the discords, the confusion of modern life. Let this be removed. Make woman a "human soul and body consisting," and man and woman alike will be better able to render unto God the things that are God's.

VOTES FOR WOMEN FELLOWSHIP

Motto: Come on! Hold on! Fight on!

Colours: Purple, White and Red

We direct the special attention of the Fellows to the very important article by Miss Gwynneth Chapman on the opposite page, called "Do Women Malinger?"

It will be remembered that the statement that there was amongst insured married working women a vast amount of sickness was made at the recent National Insurance Conference by Mr. Handel Booth, M.P., and coupled with that statement a charge of malingering unsupported by any evidence was brought against them.

There is behind this accusation a sinister intent. It is the shadow, thrown before, of prospective legislation. We have no hesitation in giving expression to our grave fear that a new political plot is brewing to make women pay for Mr. Lloyd George's mistakes with regard to the Insurance Acts

The danger is so serious that we shall not let the matter drop. We intend to deal with it in explicit terms next week, and to return to the subject again and again, until we are sure that this further menace has been recognised and is being fought by the progressive forces in the country. To be forewarned is to be fore-armed.

In the meantime, we ask the Fellows to send out this article marked and certain paragraphs in "The Outlook" bearing upon the Insurance amendments, also marked, to men and women of their acquaintance who are not necessarily Suffragists, especially those who hold any public office or position of civic, social, or religious influence. We appeal to Fellows to help us to defend women against further robbery and injustice before it is too late.

The leading article, "Want of Frankness," provides a new weapon of sharpened steel for piercing the wrappings of ignorance and prejudice with which people seek to defend themselves from the truth. Altogether this week's paper is full of stuff for propaganda, and must be circulated as widely as possible.

During the months of July, August, and September, the Hon. Secretary of the Fellowship wants to send out the paper to 1,500 hotels whose managers have expressed a willingness to put it on the table of the reading-room throughout the holiday weeks. For this purpose it is necessary to raise a Fund of £100. Who will help?

We expect a very large gathering in the Portman Rooms on July 4, at 8 o'clock, at the Fellowship Reunion, which is open to Fellows and their friends possessing tickets. The platform will be adorned with the VOTES FOR WOMEN posters, printed for the first time in the Fellowship colours. The new combination of purple, white, and red is, from the decorative point of view, most effective.

Amongst the articles for exhibition and sale will be badges in the colours, price 3d. (or 4d. post free), a tricolour silk ribbon, and a new pamphlet by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, "In Women's Shoes" (price 1d., post free 1½d.). a verbatim report of her speech to the jury in the recent test case, with an introductory biographical sketch.

PAPER SELLING REPORT

At least ten more paper-sellers wanted! Surely amongst all our many readers it will not be difficult to obtain this number. We especially need them now, as the holiday season is approaching, and some of our regular ones will be away. Will all those willing to help kindly send in their names and addresses to the Organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.? There has been a large increase in the sale of the paper this last week, but we are most anxious to obtain a still bigger circulation.

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FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To June 21, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	531	14	7
Mrs. Mackay	0	10	0
Miss F. Palethorpe	0	2	0
Mrs. A. Brown	0	5	0
Mrs. Mosen	1	0	0
"E.T."	0	6	6
Mrs. Dodgson "For Love of a Comrade"	1	0	0
Jos. Cummins Esq. ..	0	2	0
Miss I. Hadley	0	2	6
Miss White	0	1	0
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Miss K. A. Williams	0	15	0
Miss O. Mines	0	1	0
Mrs. Budgett	1	1	0
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Further donations from Glasgow Meeting	0	7	6
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Mrs. Sharp	0	1	0
Miss K. Wallace Sharp	0	1	0
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NEW FICTION

LIGHT—NOT ENLIGHTENING

There is nothing very edifying or thrilling about this small volume of fictitious letters* passing between a young girl of twenty-three and a man who is nearing fifty. Mr. Hubert Bland seems rather to be writing about the men and women of the 'nineties of last century than about those who belong to the second decade of the twentieth; and that is really the weak point of the book. Freedom for women does not to-day consist in the possession of a flat and a latchkey and the right to lunch alone with a young man and establish an intercourse with him in which there is no thought of marriage. A great deal of fiction was written about the emancipation, as it was always called, of women, along these lines, about the time that the *Yellow Book* was setting the tone in art and in manners. But that was before militant suffrage and real freedom for women became a living question; woman of to-day does not, in writing to a man friend for advice about coming to town, say this kind of thing:—

> The only scheme it is no use your suggesting is that I should live with another woman. For one thing, I don't know one—and I've been living with other women for two years! You will understand.

Mr. Bland is much more successful in his man's correspondence than in the woman's. It rings about as true as letters from that kind of philanderer would ring, and his dissertation on the people who make the wrong sort of conversation at tea parties, and drag down the conversation of the other people to their own level until the whole company is talking about places and hotels, is really funny. It is only when Mr. Bland tries to give us the workings, however superficially, of the modern woman's mind, that he seems to us to fail so completely. Perhaps, this is rather serious criticism of a light novel that can be read in less than a couple of hours. But then, we are quite sure that the author of "Olivia's Latchkey" would think that light subjects are just the ones that demand seriousness of treatment. Or, at all events, Olivia's man friend would think so.

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* "Olivia's Latchkey." By Hubert Bland. (London: Werner Laurie, Ltd. 2s. net.)

WOMAN IN INDIA

"The Daughter-in-Law" (Hurst and Blackett, 6s.), by E. W. Savi, is a story written to demonstrate that Englishwomen should not marry Hindus. There are few people who are not in agreement with the author's contention that mixed marriages are a mistake, but the best way to prove it is not to select a Hindu of a low type and compare him with Englishmen of a high type. The book is indeed rife with race prejudice, not unmixed with ignorance, both as regards the Hindu religion and English laws and conditions. The Hindu women are decried as untruthful, yet the Christian heroine is not condemned, but rather commended, because she "lied shamelessly" when it suited her purpose The author appears to think that the conditions of women in England are all that can be desired. But does she, condemning child marriages in India, not know that in England, too, there are child mothers of thirteen, and much younger than thirteen? And does she not know that though in England a man may not have more than one legal wife, he can keep as many mistresses as he pleases without his wife being able to divorce him? A knowledge of these facts should precede ardent denunciation of the abuses in other lands; perhaps, indeed, such knowledge would cause the denunciation to be, if not less whole-hearted, at least wider in scope and less Britishly self-complacent.

G.

A TRACT IN FICTION

Mrs. Ames has devoted and does devote a great part of her time to working for the abolition of the White Slave Traffic. As the Honorary Secretary of the "League of the White Rose" she organises a society in which men and women can fight together against this evil. The subject is one that it must be very difficult for a sensitive woman to treat in a semi-fictional manner, and some people may doubt whether it is really useful to publish the terrible facts in a popular form. But probably many people will read and be moved by the story of Lady-Bird,* who would never look at a book of cold statistics. The story is an appalling one, and Mrs. Ames vouches for its truth. She indeed saw "Lady-Bird" on her death-bed, dying at twenty-seven of loathsome disease. As a child of seven she had fallen a victim to man's lust, and once in the toils of cruelty and deceit, there was, as the writer shows, no way out. Mrs. Ames has set before herself a difficult and courageous task, and every woman's heart is with her in her crusade.

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* "Lady-Bird." By Mrs. Hugo Ames. (Key Publishing Co. 6d.)

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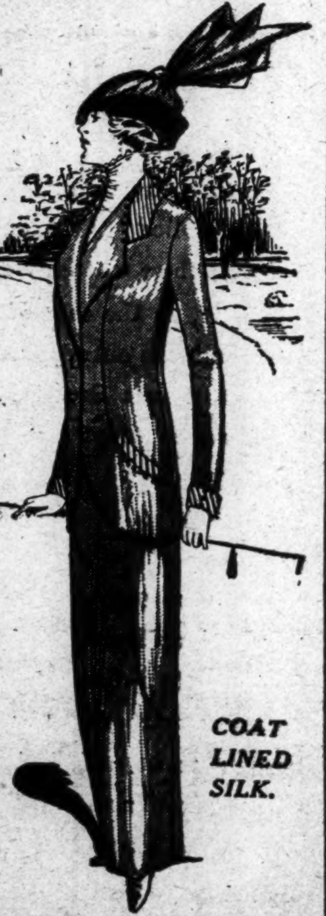
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125, GLOUCESTER RD., S. KENSINGTON.

THREE BOOKS ON THEOSOPHY*

The author of the first of these books confounds reincarnation with transmigration, and has not yet learnt to distinguish between the astral and the spiritual body. That being so, further criticism is impossible.

Mr. Sinnett deals with science, recognised and occult. The aim of his essays is best summed up in his own words :—

> That which is commonly called science is exclusively "physical" science. It works with instruments made of metal, glass, and so on, and has accomplished work that may be fairly termed sublime in its examination of what I will venture to call the outsides of things, but it always stops short in groping after a comprehension of their innermost essence.

To stretch out mental hands and to grasp with them something of this essence, this is what Mr. Sinnett sets out to do, suggesting the solution of many a problem which science has not yet elucidated, and pointing out the many cases in which theories put forward by science as occult, that is, unproved, at the time at which the theories were first advocated, and treated at that time with scorn by the science that was established, have since been recognised as true by the authorities who originally condemned them. Those who are interested in different states of consciousness will find much that is interesting, much that is suggestive in the author's lucidly expressed explanations and arguments.

It is not with the science of Nature, but with the science of the spirit of humanity as it is expressed in the Woman's Movement that Mrs. Despard is concerned. For to her, as to all those who give more than a verbal and academic adhesion to its aims, to those who are willing to spend and be spent in its service, the cause of women is a spiritual cause. According to her interpretation of Theosophy it cannot be otherwise, and it is obvious to the reader that her instincts are at one with her doctrines : the spiritual importance of the emancipation of women is not only intellectually recognised but intuitively and emotionally felt :—

> . . . the spiritual voices which are going out into the world to-day have found their most ardent response in the heart of woman. Over and over again worldly-wise people have questioned the warrior-woman, have asked, "Why do you do these things? Would it not be better to be quiet and wait?" The answer is always the same. "We don't know why. We cannot help ourselves. We must go on until we die, and then others will come to take our place, for our cause cannot die." They know, because of the spiritual force that is behind them—because of the new light that has shone upon their path.

Speaking of the revolt that is in the air of to-day, she says that much of it is of the body, is blind and vague, then adds :—

> Women of all classes, on whom these tremendous forces have been playing, have seen further. To the revolt of the senses and of the will is added a spiritual demand. They claim independence that they may serve.

The hope of the future, the certainty of its success, because it has a spiritual foundation, that is the gist of Mrs. Despard's philosophy.

G.

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CHURCH BELLS

A fascinating subject this, of Church Bells†, and Mr. Walters brings before us a vast array of curious and interesting facts. That bells are forbidden by Mohammedans, at once makes us welcome their use. In the list of English bell-founders more than one woman's name appears from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but for the last 150 years the trade has apparently been entirely in the hands of men. When bells were dedicated to saints, Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary came easily first, followed by St. Katharine—St. Peter and St. Michael getting third and fourth place respectively. St. Barbara, the protectress against thunderstorms, and the patron of gunsmiths, had many bells inscribed to her in the Eastern counties. Mr. Walters gives a number of these dedications, explains the mysteries of bell-ringing, describes the making and hanging of bells, and in short treats the whole subject nobly, as it deserves to be treated. The illustrations, bibliography, and index add to the value of this excellent work.

J. C.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Mrs. Murphy." By Barry Pain. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 1s. net.)

"Herself. Talks with Women Concerning Themselves." By E. B. Lowry, M.D. (Chicago: Forbes and Co. Price by mail, $1.10.)

"The Man and the Woman. Studies in Human Life." By Arthur L. Salmon. (Chicago: Forbes and Co. Price by mail, 85 cents.)

"Women as World Builders. Studies in Modern Feminism." By Floyd Dell. (Chicago: Forbes and Co. Price by mail, 85 cents.)

"Free Speech for Radicals." Seven Essays. By Theodore Schroeder. (New York: Free Speech League, 56, East 59th Street. Price 25 cents.)

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* "The Origin and History of Reincarnation." By W. S. George. (The Power Book Company. 2s. 6d. net.)
"Nature's Mysteries." By A. P. Sinnett. "Theosophy and the Woman's Movement." By Mrs. Despard. (The Theosophical Publishing Society. 6d. net.)

† "Church Bells of England." By H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A. With 170 illustrations. (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

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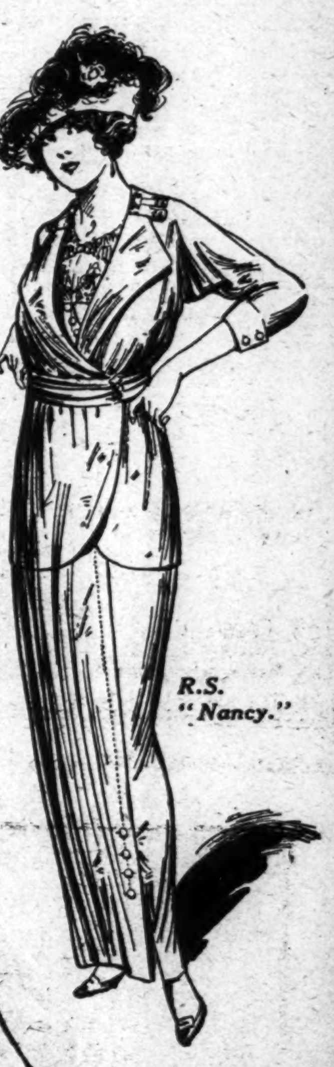
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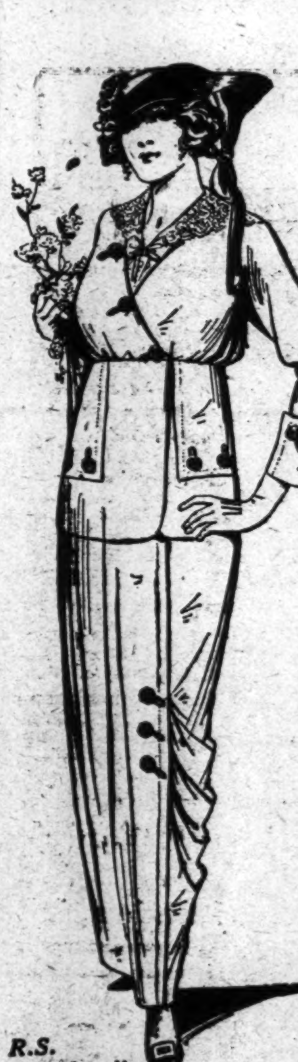
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FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1913.

WANT OF FRANKNESS

During the protracted discussion of the Marconi affair we have resolutely refrained from expressing any opinion on the main issue. We have considered, and in this we believe we have had the full support of our readers, that as a non-party suffrage paper it was our duty to stick to our own business. To that resolution we steadfastly adhere. But now that the discussion is over, we are glad to see that one principle at least emerges by common consent into definite acknowledgment. We refer to the admission that it is not right for members of the Government to give answers in the House of Commons so framed as to conceal the essential facts of the situation. This principle was clearly enunciated by the Attorney-General himself, who said: "I think members of the House are entitled to get not only from Ministers but from each other frank statements in answer to any question raised in the House."

This principle is of the utmost importance, but we are sorry to say that to our certain knowledge it has been flagrantly and repeatedly broken during the past few years by members of the present Government. Answers have been given which were not merely not the whole truth, but were deliberately designed to mislead the questioner and the public as to the main issue of the interrogation.

Naturally, it is only in certain cases, out of many in which we have had ourselves first hand knowledge, that it is possible to bring home to the public by irrefutable proof the deliberate falsity of the answer given. A few of these we have selected and tabulated on the opposite page.

Sometimes the answer has been so chosen as apparently to convict the legitimate critic of the Government of an incorrect statement. Thus in the case of the release of Miss Lenton in February of the present year it had been argued by Suffragists that her illness was due to an operation of forcible feeding. On February 28 Mr. McKenna made the following statement: "Miss Lenton was reported by the Medical Officer at Holloway Prison on Sunday, February 23, in a state of collapse and in imminent danger of death, consequent upon her refusal to take food. Three courses were open: (1) To leave her to die; (2) to attempt to feed her forcibly, which the Medical Officer advised would probably entail death in her exhausted condition; (3) to release her on her undertaking to surrender herself for the further hearing of her case. The Home Secretary adopted the last course." The natural inference to be drawn from this statement was that Miss Lenton was not, as a matter of fact, forcibly fed, and the Press, as was obviously intended, drew this inference, and rebuked the critics of Mr. McKenna for their misstatement. It was not till some days afterwards that Mr. McKenna admitted that she had been fed by force in prison, and defended his original statement on the ground that the three alternatives arose *after she had been fed once*, and related to the question as to whether she should be fed a second time.

Sometimes words which have a perfectly clear and accepted meaning in common parlance are used in replies with an entirely different meaning. Thus from the answers given in the case of Miss Emerson on April 11 last it is clear that the words "satisfactory condition of health" in the mouth of a Home Secretary must be construed to mean "not so dangerously ill at the moment that release has already become imperative." Miss Emerson was, in fact, sent away from the prison in an ambulance a few hours after Mr. Ellis Griffith had, on behalf of Mr. McKenna, declared in the House of Commons that her health was "quite satisfactory."

When Mr. Herbert Gladstone sent a specialist from London to examine Lady Constance Lytton in Newcastle Prison and released her without applying the forcible feeding to which most of the other Suffrage prisoners were being subjected, he indignantly denied that this was due to consideration of her rank. And this lie would never have been exposed but for the heroic action of Lady Constance Lytton herself, who, to test the accuracy of her assertion, dressed herself as a working girl and adopted the feigned name of Jane Warton, and in this disguise was subjected to the full barbarity of the process, no medical examination of any kind preceding the adoption of forcible feeding.

It was during Mr Winston Churchill's term of the Home Office that the events of Black Friday occurred, when exceptional brutality was shown to the women's deputation, as testified to by over a hundred witnesses. There were strong grounds for the suspicion that this treatment was deliberately intended by Mr. Churchill. Naturally, no direct proof could be given, but it was hoped to elicit by question in the House some statement as to the orders to delay arrest which must inevitably have been given to produce the result which actually occurred. Mr. Churchill gave two answers, the first on March 10, 1911, in which he said that his directions to the police had not been fully understood, and the second, on March 13, 1911, in which he said that "no orders, verbal or written, emanating directly or indirectly from me, were given to the police." No attempt was ever made to reconcile these mutually contradictory assertions.

Finally, in the case of William Ball, putting out of account the outrageous facts of the main issue, we have the Home Secretary (Mr. McKenna) denying his power to adopt a certain course which in fact he actually adopted without the slightest hesitation a few weeks later in the case of other Suffrage prisoners.

These and similar answers have reduced the right to question Ministers of the Crown in the House of Commons to a discreditable farce. Prevarication has become a fine art. If this state of things is to be brought to an end, it is not enough to "regret the want of frankness" of two Ministers on the Marconi business, a complete reversal of the whole dishonest system must be demanded and insisted upon. It is not merely the honour of one Minister, or even of the Cabinet as a whole, which is at stake, but the very life of the House of Commons. For no society of people can continue to exist in which deliberate and persistent prevarication is practised with impunity.

STATEMENTS VERSUS FACTS

How Successive Home Secretaries Have Answered Questions in the House of Commons

"I think members of the House are entitled to get not only from Ministers but from each other frank statements in answer to any question raised in the House."—*The Attorney General replying to the charge of "want of frankness" made against him in the Marconi Debate, Wednesday, June 18.*

Our readers will be interested to compare the above rule of conduct laid down by the Attorney General with the practice of successive Liberal Home Secretaries in giving replies concerning the woman suffrage agitation. We select a few out of many instances.

LORD GLADSTONE (1906-1910)

The Case of Lady Constance Lytton and Jane Warton

STATEMENT.	FACT.
"I need hardly say that there is not the slightest ground for the insinuation that Lady Constance Lytton was released because she was a peer's sister. She was released solely on medical grounds."—*Mr. Herbert Gladstone (now Lord Gladstone) replying to Mr. Philip Snowden in the House of Commons, Oct.* 27, 1909. "In view of the repeated statements which the Secretary of State has made in Parliament, he can only regard the statement that Lady Constance Lytton's release had anything to do with her rank or social position as a wilful and deliberate misrepresentation."—*Mr. Herbert Gladstone to the Fabian Society, Nov.* 22, 1909.	On October 8, 1909, Lady Constance Lytton was imprisoned in Newcastle under her own name, and immediately commenced the hunger-strike. After two and a half days she was medically examined by a specialist sent down from London, and was promptly released on the ground of heart-trouble, most of the other prisoners being forcibly fed. On January 15, 1910, Lady Constance Lytton was imprisoned under the assumed name of Jane Warton in Walton Gaol, Liverpool. She commenced the hunger-strike. She was not medically examined. After four days, forcible feeding was commenced. The operation was continued twice daily, invariably accompanied by vomiting. She was released on Sunday morning, January 23, in a terrible condition.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (1910-11)

Instructions to the Police on Black Friday, Nov. 18, 1910

CONFLICTING STATEMENTS.	FACT.
"It was my intention from the beginning of my tenure of the Home Office to proceed by the second method [that the police should arrest disorderly women as soon as there is lawful occasion] and not by the first [that the police should defer making arrests until the conduct of individual women had become so outrageous that their arrest is imperative] to have these women removed from the scene of disorder as soon as was lawfully possible, and then to press the prosecution only of those who had committed personal assaults on the police or other serious offences. The directions which I gave were not fully understood or carried out on November 18."—*Mr. Winston Churchill, replying in the House of Commons to Lord Henry Bentinck on March* 10, 1911. "No orders, verbal or written, emanating directly or indirectly from me were given to the police engaged in dealing with the suffrage demonstration, either on or before November 18."—*Mr. Winston Churchill, replying in the House of Commons to Mr. Ormesby-Gore on March* 13, 1911.	Women were in conflict with the police on November 18, 1910, for several hours before any considerable number of arrests were made. During the whole of this time Mr. Winston Churchill was in the House of Commons and took no steps to bring the disgraceful condition of affairs to an end.

MR. REGINALD McKENNA (1911-1913)

The Case of William Ball

STATEMENTS.	FACTS.
"William Ball was convicted at Bow Street on December 22 last of doing wilful damage, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour. He was, therefore, not eligible for the special treatment which may be accorded to certain classes of prisoners under the prison rule recently made by my predecessor, as that rule applies only to persons placed by the court in the second or third division, and does not apply to those sentenced to hard labour. . . . No disturbing mental symptoms were observed until the night of January 25 . . . On February 9 he was reported to be certifiably insane. . . . ."—*Mr. McKenna in the House, Feb.* 19, 1912.	Mr. William Ball was perfectly sane and in normal health when admitted to prison on December 22. There was no other cause except that of being fed by force which could have driven him insane.
In reply to a further question from Mr. Lynch, whether he would not admit on his own statement of the case that this man was admitted perfectly sane, and that the treatment he received in prison drove him insane? Mr. McKenna said: "No, sir; on the contrary, I think it would be so unlikely as to be impossible." In reply to a question from Mr. Keir Hardie on February 27, Mr. McKenna said that if he were to make the regulations apply to prisoners with hard labour he would be overriding the intention of Parliament, and he had no right to act in that way. It was quite clear from the Act that no Minister had power to avert under the general rule the conditions of hard labour.	Regulation 243A contains no mention with regard to hard labour. It reads as follows:— "243A.—In the case of any offender of the Second or Third Division whose previous character is good, and who has been convicted of, or committed to prison for, an offence not involving dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence, the Prison Commissioners may allow such amelioration. . . ." Subsequently Mr. McKenna did, as a matter of fact, apply the rule to a large number of women sentenced to hard labour by the simple expedient of remitting the hard labour part of the sentence.

The Case of Miss Lenton

STATEMENT.	FACT.
"Miss Lenton was reported by the Medical Officer at Holloway Prison on Sunday, February 23, in a state of collapse and in imminent danger of death, consequent upon her refusal to take food. Three courses were open: (1) To leave her to die; (2) to attempt to feed her forcibly, which the medical officer advised would probably entail death in her exhausted condition; (3) to release her on her undertaking to surrender herself for the further hearing of her case. The Home Secretary adopted the last course."—*Mr. McKenna in an official Communication to the Press, Feb.* 28, 1913. (From this statement the public naturally concluded that Miss Lenton had not, as a matter of fact been fed by force.) "There is no foundation for the statement which has been made that the tube entered the trachea, or that any food passed into the lung. Miss Lenton's collapse occurred some hours after she was forcibly fed, and was due to the bad state of her health, aggravated by her refusal of food."—*Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons, March* 13, 1913.	Miss Lenton was imprisoned on remand on Thursday, February 20, and commenced the hunger strike. On Saturday afternoon she was seen by her solicitor in prison, who found her in her normal condition of health. On Sunday morning, February 23, she was fed by force. When the tube was withdrawn violent coughing ensued with intense pain. The doctor examined her chest, and warned her not to sit up, he gave her two hypodermic injections, and shortly afterwards returned with the Governor, who said she should be released at once. She was then given a third hypodermic injection and carried on a chair to a taxicab, the doctor and a wardress accompanying her to her home. Examined by her own doctor, she was found to be suffering from pleurisy. In the opinion of Mr. Mansell Moullin, F.R.C.S., Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., and Miss Agnes Savill, M.D., these facts prove conclusively that food was forcibly injected into the lung of Miss Lenton and that but for her youth and natural health fatal consequences must have ensued.

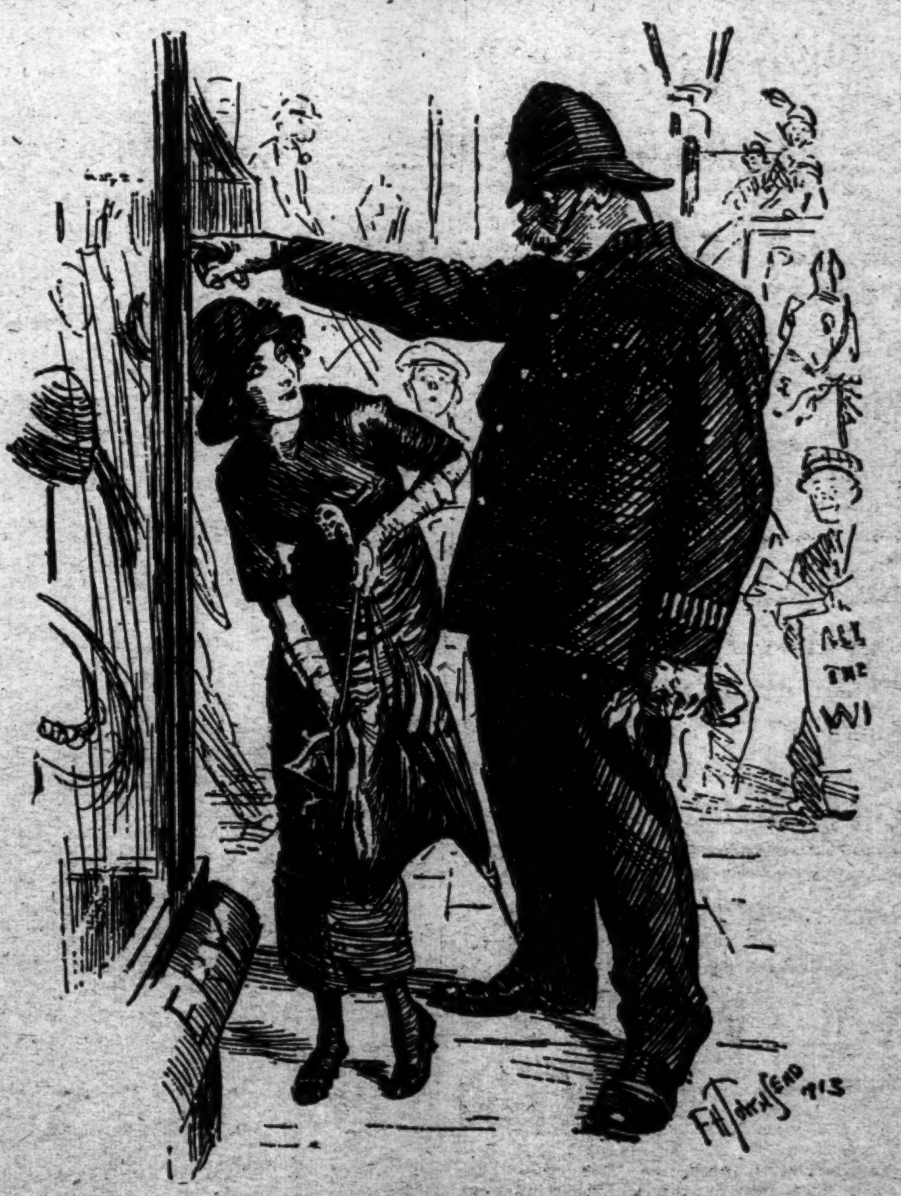
The Case of Miss Emerson

Mr. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on April 11, 1913, whether Miss Emerson, who was serving a sentence of two months' imprisonment in Holloway for breaking a window, was an American citizen, and was being forcibly fed; and, if so, what report did the doctors give of the present state of her health?

Mr. Ellis Griffith answered the question on behalf of Mr. McKenna. He said: "The answer to the first two questions is in the affirmative. The doctors report that the condition of her health is quite satisfactory."

On the evening of the same day that the question was asked in the House, April 11, she was released from prison, an ambulance being specially requisitioned for the purpose. Her release was due to the fact that the doctors expressed their opinion that her continued imprisonment would be dangerous to life. On her return to her friends she was found to be very seriously ill. *(We print on page 578 a letter from Miss Emerson describing her state of health on her release and while she was in prison.)*

WAR INCIDENTS



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OXFORD STREET ZONE

OVER-ZEALOUS P.C. (suspicious of concealed hammer): "Now, then, none of that. Move on there."

PERFECTLY INNOCENT YOUNG LADY: "Then perhaps you will blow my nose for me."

THE CAT AND MOUSE SCANDAL

The Cat and Mouse Act is now in active operation in England, Scotland, and Ireland. In all three countries it is proving itself as futile as it is cruel. In England, four women and one man have escaped re-arrest under its provisions, and the police have no knowledge of their whereabouts; while seven women, including Mrs. Pankhurst, and one man have been released on licence, are lying gravely ill as the result of the hunger strike, are guarded by detectives night and day, and will doubtless be rearrested as soon as they have been nursed back to a semblance of health. In Ireland, three women have been similarly released; and in Scotland, three more, of whom two are missing and are being hunted down by detectives.

Public opinion is, however, in revolt against this public scandal. The Lord Mayor of Dublin has granted the use of the Mansion House for a public protest meeting, and similar meetings are being held in London and the provinces. An important petition has been signed by University graduates; the Men's League are forming a deputation to wait on the Prime Minister, and a great deal of correspondence is appearing in the Press, a notable contribution being two letters to the *Times* from Mr. Bernard Shaw. We print selections from these, and also from the many comments in the Press, on this page and the following one.

But, as the *Christian Commonwealth* says: "What is the use of the protests of friends or the condemnation of foes? If there is one clear conclusion to be drawn from the acts and the sufferings of women in this cause, it is that the only possible solution is, not repression, not repudiation, not martyrdom, but the vote."

THE W.S.P.U. CONSPIRACY PRISONERS

"I am bound to say that if the Home Secretary consults me, as he very often does consult the judge, I shall take upon myself the responsibility of saying that at any rate the ringleaders of you should not be let out of prison under any circumstances."

These words were uttered by Mr. Justice Phillimore in pronouncing sentence on the seven Suffragist conspirators at the Old Bailey last Tuesday week. All the defendants, who were removed to different prisons, at once adopted the hunger strike, and on Saturday, after serving four days only of their sentences, four of them were released: Miss Annie Kenney (Maidstone Gaol), Miss Barrett (Canterbury Gaol), Miss Lake (Warwick Gaol), and Miss Lennox (Bristol Gaol). On Monday, Mrs. Sanders (Lewes Gaol) was released, and on Tuesday Mr. Clayton. On Wednesday morning Miss Kerr was released from Holloway Gaol, in a very serious state of exhaustion, having been without food since last Tuesday week, a period of eight days.

All the prisoners were released on licence under the Cat and Mouse Act, and were in an extremely weakened condition. They state that impressions of their fingerprints were in every case taken, though they offered as strenuous a resistance to this insulting proceeding as their exhausted state enabled them to make.

MRS. PANKHURST

Mrs. Pankhurst, though slightly better, is still gravely ill, and her condition has more than once given rise to anxiety during the week. Last Monday the following questions were asked in the House:—

Mr. Wedgwood asked whether it is the intention of the Government again to arrest Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst if she takes part in no further criminal propaganda and remains quiet?

Mr. McKenna: Mrs. Pankhurst was convicted of felony and sentenced to three years' penal servitude, of which sentence she has only served sixteen days in prison. The question of rearresting her if she fails to return to prison depends upon the state of her health and other circumstances.

Mr. Wedgwood: Has the right hon. Gentleman indicated the "other circumstances" to Mrs. Pankhurst or anyone connected with her?

Mr. McKenna: No, sir.

Mr. Wedgwood: Who knows them, then?

Mr. McKenna: I do. One of the reasons for not arresting her is obvious.

MRS. PANKHURST AND MR. PARNELL

The *London Budget* reminds us that the country refused to Mrs. Pankhurst, when she tried to attend Miss Davison's funeral, what was conceded to Charles Stuart Parnell when he was a political prisoner in Kilmainham Prison.

"Mr. Parnell," it says, "requested leave to attend the funeral of his sister's child in Paris, and Mr. Forster, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, released him on parole without any conditions.

"Mrs. Pankhurst on Saturday was treated to the utmost rigours of the new 'Cat and Mouse' Bill. . . . The moment she appeared she was seized, thus proving to the minds of the Suffragists that the political prisoner of to-day, if she happens to be a woman, need not expect the precedents of male treatment to serve her."

A MEN'S RESOLUTION

The Manchester Men's League has passed the following resolution:—

"That this League views with grave concern the action of the authorities in regard to the repeated rearrest and imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst, and urges the immediate suspension and repeal of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act, as savouring of a species of legal persecution entirely at variance with the spirit of the Declaration of Rights, which secured 'the right of the nation to a pure and merciful administration of justice,' and which threatens to cast a shameful odium upon the English people by en dangering the life of an honourable and respected woman whose sole aim has been to secure human rights of representation for her sex."

THE ACT IN IRELAND

Lord Mayor's Action

In Ireland the feeling against the Act is so strong that the Lord Mayor of Dublin has granted the use of the Mansion House for a public meeting of protest against the application of the Cat and Mouse Act to Ireland. The meeting will take place tomorrow (Saturday), and a report of it, by our special Irish correspondent, will appear in next week's Votes for Women.

The Released Prisoners

The three prisoners who were released under the Act from Tullamore Gaol on June 18—Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Ryan, and Miss Walsh—are struggling slowly to recovery, which is not an easy matter in homes surrounded by police who are ready to pounce on them as soon as they emerge. They have just a fortnight in which to grow strong enough to go through it all again, their licences naming July 2 as the date on which it is assumed by the Government that they will be fit to return to Tullamore.

Heckling the Lord Lieutenant

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was heckled on the subject last Tuesday as he was leaving his carriage to enter the Royal Academy of Music in Westland Row, where he was to distribute prizes to the successful students. Two members of the Irishwomen's Franchise League evaded the police who were on duty, and before they could be stopped put a number of questions to the Viceroy, asking him amongst other things why he had applied the Cat and Mouse Act to Suffragist prisoners in Ireland. Lord Aberdeen made the singularly ineffectual answer that the authorities were doing all they could for them "if they would only be rational." How many reformers have been begged to be rational since the world began?

IRISHWOMEN'S PROTEST

The Irishwomen's Reform League have addressed the following letter to the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the chief party Whips, and the Irish members of Parliament:—

"The Committee of the Irishwomen's Reform League, which is a strictly non-militant society, wish to enter the strongest possible protest against any further application of the infamous 'Cat and Mouse' Bill (Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health Act) against suffragists imprisoned for political principles. We consider it to be nothing short of a public scandal that a woman of admittedly pure life and motives, like Mrs. Pankhurst, should be deliberately done to death by her political opponents under the terms of the Act, and in view of her very grave condition, and the fact that she is very unlikely to survive another period of imprisonment, we demand that the Act be immediately suspended, and then repealed. We all know that the Government's avowed object in bringing in the Act was to stamp out militancy, on the plea that if militant suffragists found that they had to serve out their whole sentences—hunger-strike or not—they would very soon give up getting themselves arrested; but as militancy has only increased—both in extent and violence—since the introduction of the Act, and is increasing still, the Act has palpably failed in its object, and therefore ought surely to be removed from the Statute-book."

IN SCOTLAND

Of the three Scottish prisoners who have been released on licence under the Act, two—Miss Edith Hudson and Miss Elizabeth Thomson—are still "wanted" by the police, but have succeeded in evading capture, and the third, Miss Arabella Scott, is making a slow recovery to health after being released the second time.

OTHER MISSING PRISONERS

There are, besides the two Scottish women, five English Suffragists still missing, who have been released on licence at various times. These are Miss Ella Stevenson, Miss Phyllis Brady, Miss Millicent Dean, Miss Lenton, and Mr. Hugh Franklin, all of whom have refused to return to prison on the dates mentioned in their licenses, and have not been found by the police. Miss Lenton, the last to evade capture, is reported to have walked in the disguise of a grocer's boy through the lines of detectives who were guarding the house in which she was supposed to be, and which they continued to guard for more than a day after she left. Up to the time of going to press they had not succeeded in recapturing her.

THE JUDGE'S THREATS

Mr. Justice Phillimore's threat to the Suffragist prisoners who were awaiting sentence in the dock at the Old Bailey, last week, has given rise to some commentary in the Press of which we print selections below. In the House of Commons, also, on Thursday in last week, we are glad to note that Mr. McKenna, when questioned on the prison treatment of these prisoners, declined to consider the judge's remarks as relevant to the matter. The following questions were asked and answered:—

Mr. Wedgwood: In view of the passing of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill Health) Act, was it not understood that forcible feeding was not to be proceeded with, and that that Act would be taken advantage of?

Mr. McKenna: Yes, but none of these prisoners are now being forcibly fed. I said again and again, in the course of the discussion on that Bill, that in view of the provisions of the Bill, I hoped to be able to avoid forcible feeding. But I could not give any undertaking that under no conditions would prisoners be forcibly fed.

Mr. Chancellor: In view of the anxiety of the friends and relatives of these prisoners to know what is going on in prison, will he see that they all know before the operation of forcible feeding is proceeded with?

Mr. McKenna: I cannot undertake to give any information to the friends of prisoners as regards their conduct in prison. I can only say, as I have stated before, that I have no desire, nor have the prison authorities any desire, to feed any of these prisoners forcibly. We shall certainly not exercise our power to do so unless in the whole circumstances of the case we feel ourselves compelled to do so.

Mr. Wedgwood: Then the procedure has not been changed by the remarks of Mr. Justice Phillimore in sentencing the prisoners?

Mr. McKenna: I do not think his remarks have any relevance to the point now before the House.

In the "Daily Herald"

In these days it is important that even judges should be made to understand that there are limits to what they are at liberty to preach to men and women who happen to be waiting sentence at their hands; men and women who may be a long way better and more sincere than themselves. Judge-made law is quite enough by way of infliction; judge-made philosophy about it is more than we can bear. . . . The judge and the jury have decided the matter in their own way for the time being, but it is quite certain that most of the prisoners will soon be out again, and it is equally certain that the movement for women's emancipation will go on triumphantly. Women-torture and judicial diatribes are vain against it.

In the "Nation"

The judge further added that he should advise the Home Secretary against releasing the ringleaders in any circumstances, to which Miss Kenney and Miss Barrett replied that they would hunger-strike and die together. If this very improper advice is given, we have no doubt it will be rejected, for the conditional release of suffragettes who are in danger of their lives is now regulated not by judges but by Act of Parliament. Meanwhile, Mrs. Pankhurst has been rearrested, at the moment of her joining the funeral procession of Miss Davison—a somewhat odious incident—and again released in a state of extreme physical weakness.

In the "Globe"

It is not conceivable that so experienced a Judge could have uttered such an admonition unless he had been given some sort of assurance that he was correctly interpreting the intentions of the Home Office; otherwise the strong expressions he used were worse than meaningless. It is clear that Mr. McKenna's heart has once more failed him, and that at the last moment he has run away from his responsibilities. How far the policy of leniency is likely to be successful was again illustrated by the further outrages attempted on Saturday. With Mr. Justice Phillimore, we say that the time for leniency is past, and if Mr. McKenna cannot recognise it, he should give place to a stronger man who will.

LETTERS IN THE PRESS

FROM MR. BERNARD SHAW

Some important letters have appeared in the Press concerning the operation of the Cat and Mouse Act. Mr. Bernard Shaw, in a letter to the *Times* (June 20), comments in forcible language on the want of decent feeling shown by the Government in re-arresting Mrs. Pankhurst on the eve of Miss Davison's funeral. He goes on to speak of "the newly declared attitude of the Prime Minister," and says: "In the debate on the Dickinson Bill Mr. Asquith for the first time opposed the franchise for women explicitly on the ground that woman is not the female of the human species, but a distinct and inferior species, naturally disqualified from voting as a rabbit is disqualified from voting. This is a very common opinion. Mahomed's efforts to discredit it fourteen centuries ago were lost on many Arabs as completely as on Mr. Asquith. But it makes the position extremely uncomfortable. A man may object to the proposed extension of the suffrage for many reasons. He may hold that the whole business of popular election is a delusion, and that votes for women is only its reduction to absurdity. He may object to it as upsetting a convenient division of labour between the sexes. He may object to it because he dislikes change, or is interested in businesses or practices which women would use political power to suppress. But it is one thing to follow a Prime Minister who advances all, or some, or any of these reasons for standing in the way of votes for women. It is quite another to follow a Prime Minister who places one's mother on the footing of a rabbit. Many men would vote for anything rather than be suspected of the rabbit theory. It makes it difficult to vote for the Liberal Party and then look the women of one's household in the face."

The letter concludes by suggesting that the authorities should now leave Mrs. Pankhurst alone. "There was something to be said for not letting her out; there is nothing to be said for pursuing her, now she is out, with a game of cat-and-mouse that will produce on public feeling all the effect of vindictive assassination if she, like Miss Davison, should seal her testimony with her blood."

SOME ANSWERS AND MR. SHAW'S REPLY

Mr. Shaw's frank statement of the position naturally provoked answers, and letters from Mrs. Grosvenor and Mr. Algernon Gissing drew the following reply from him in the *Times* of June 25, which explains itself without putting us to the necessity of quoting from his opponents' letters:—

"Sir,—Your correspondent, Mr. Algernon Gissing must, I think, be aware that the consecrated English phrase for the final sacrifice of a martyr is 'sealing one's testimony with one's blood.' That Miss Davison was a martyr is a fact, and must be recognised as a fact as much by those who object to her views as by those who agree with them. No intelligent Republican who knows the historical facts denies that Charles I. was a martyr. No similarly qualified Roman Catholic denies that Ridley and Latimer were martyrs. I am myself so lukewarm about martyrdom that one of the oftenest quoted passages in my works is to the effect that martyrdom is the only way in which people can become famous without ability; but I know the difference between a martyrdom and a fatal accident. Therefore, when Mr. Gissing demurs to my calling Miss Davison a martyr I infer that as the quality of a martyr is a human quality, and that as Miss Davison, being a woman, was to him not human, he finds something grotesque and exaggerated and fussy in my application of the consecrated phrase to her act, much as if I had said of the giraffe which killed itself the other day that it had sealed its testimony with its blood. But Mr. Gissing must allow for the fact that his view and Mr. Asquith's is not my view. If I were writing of Miss Davison's dead body I should not describe it as a carcase. I regarded Miss Davison as a human being like myself and like Mr. Gissing. He will perhaps take the comparison as an insult. I cannot help that: natural history has no respect for personal susceptibilities.

'I Really Want to Know'

"And now, as Mr. Gissing has been pedagogue enough to lecture me, may I ask him a question? Suppose a Government of women, coming to the conclusion that he, being male, was not human, refused him the vote, excluded him from Parliament and from the juries by whom persons of his sex had to be tried, turned him out of Court on occasions when questions most intimately affecting his sex were at issue, wrote up on the walls of the churches that a woman's property included her ox and her ass and her husband and everything that was hers, and absolutely refused to be moved from this position by any appeal to reason or feeling, merely pointing out superciliously from time to time that Mr. Gissing's letters showed an unbalanced mind, and that some of the best men had never had votes, had avoided serving on juries, and had been proud and glad to wheel perambulators instead of unsexing themselves by pushing into women's professions. What would Mr. Gissing do? I really want to know. We all want to know. I am quite sure that if he can suggest any alternative to militancy the militants will be the first to bless him; for it cannot be very pleasant to be imprisoned and forcibly fed or brought to death's door by starvation, or to be kicked to death by racehorses.

'They Crumpled'

"Meanwhile Miss Kenney and three of her friends, having said in the dock that they would not serve their sentences and would force the Government to release them, have kept their word. It was the Government's latest chance of showing your quite logical correspondent Mrs. Grosvenor that they could rise to her appeal and prove what stern stuff they were made of by letting Miss Kenney starve to death. But when it came to the point they crumpled, and Miss Kenney won.

"What is going to happen now? Is the Home Office going to picket Miss Kenney's doorstep and persecute her illegally out of mere spite at having been beaten by her? That will not save the credit of the law. The proper way to surrender to Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Kenney is to give them the vote. It is silly to go on shrieking 'No surrender!' The surrender has taken place, and its ungraciousness cannot disguise its nature. The women who want the vote say in effect that we must either kill them or give it to them. In spite of lawyers' logic our consciences will not let us kill them. Then in the name of common sense let us give them the vote and have done with it. The women who do not want it need not go to the polls. They will no doubt feel their interests safe in the hands of Mr. Algernon Gissing.—Yours truly,

"G. BERNARD SHAW."

From a Woman Doctor

A correspondence on the same subject has been proceeding in the *Manchester Guardian*. Dr. Flora Murray writes:—

"I have had some weeks of experience of the working of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act. The doctors and nurses find themselves in an amazing position. They use every means at their disposal to restore the patient to health, and before she is convalescent, without any consulting of them, she is taken from them, only to be returned in a few days on a stretcher, half-killed, and accompanied by a notice which gives them seven days in which to make her able to go through it all again. And this is going on *ad infinitum*, and will go on, not only in the case of Mrs. Pankhurst, but also in the case of other women and men, unless the public cries 'Halt!'

"The House of Commons passed this Act knowing what it meant and in face of the declaration of one member that it would prove ineffectual, and of another that it was 'devilish.' The Act is brutalising and degrading—it degrades the Legislature that enacted it, it degrades the nation that tolerates it."

From a Non-Militant

Miss Lucy E. Cox, describing herself as a non-militant suffragist, says in the same paper:—"Crime must be punished, but the real instigators of these deplorable outrages get off scot-free. Members of Parliament have not listened to reasonable demands made in every known constitutional way by all suffrage societies alike, but many of these men have instead made ill-judged speeches, inciting by implication to riot and arson. They are the real culprits for the disorders of to-day, and on them, in the first place, the blame should fall. It is strange to think that women actually have to pay these legislators, who produce, as output of their work, the Star Chamber 'turns' which they now provide for us one after another!"

Similarly, Mr. H. F. Brown writes:—

"We might be back in the days of the Gordon Riots, and of the trials of Thomas Hardy, Horne Tooke, and other members of the Reform Societies in the years following the French Revolution. Conspiracy trials directed against whole societies are now, as ever they were, the expedients of tyrannous and panic-stricken Governments when the prosecution of an individual for a definite criminal offence would amply suffice to vindicate the law. This conspicuous failure of the Government to express the well-known Liberal principle, that force is no remedy for discontent, is leading to a very bitter and sullen feeling that will find expression at the next general election in widespread abstention from the polls; indeed, many Liberals are already pledging themselves to that course."

A Veteran's Opinion

Finally, Mrs. E. C. Wolstenholme-Elmy, who formed the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee in 1866, and signs herself "A Non-Militant," writes:—

"Upon those who continue to deny to us this right must rest the blame for every violent deed committed by any of those women who are still denied this right of citizenship. Those who have refused, and still refuse us the vote, are the real culprits, and need to be exposed as such.

THE JUDGE AND LAWLESSNESS

"A Member of the E.C.U.," in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, criticises further Mr. Justice Phillimore's remark that "Christianity during the revival of the last eighty years has always been opposed to outrage and lawlessness." This statement, says the writer, "is incorrect." He proceeds to say—No one knows better than his Lordship that the English Church Union, of which he was himself a prominent member, resisted for many years the law of the land, and refused not only to accept the decisions of the Supreme Court established by Parliament for the decision of Ecclesiastical cases, but treated the Court as though it had no legal authority. If this was not lawlessness, I submit that the word lawlessness has no meaning. To say that some of the judgments of the tribunal in question were bad law or that Acts of Parliament cannot repeal Ecclesiastical canons is irrelevant. Legal members of the English Church Union like the learned Judge were fully aware that by the law of England the Sovereign in Parliament is supreme over the Church as well as over the State.

"I should add that I express no censure on the action either of the English Church Union or of the learned Judge. In my humble view there are certain phases of human activity into which the State has no moral right to enter, and in which if it does enter resistance is lawful. But for members of the English Church Union to throw stones at members of the W.S.P.U. on the ground that the acts of the latter are lawless is a case of pot and kettle. I fully agree that on moral as opposed to legal reasons a great distinction may be drawn between the forms of lawlessness supported by the English Church Union and the forms of lawlessness supported by the W.S.P.U. But both Unions have this in common—that they have resisted the law of the land on the ground that their consciences commanded them to obey a higher call."

PRESS OPINIONS

A PECKSNIFF CASTLEREAGH

The attitude of the Government toward the women's movement is distinctly reactionary, and the whole movement, militant and non-militant, has been forced into an anti-Governmental position. The rising tide of enfranchisement cannot be stemmed. The attitude of Mr. Asquith toward the political freedom of women is precisely the attitude of the Duke of Wellington toward the political freedom of men, and where the latter failed the former will not succeed. Neither is Mr. McKenna a success as a Pecksniff Castlereagh, and all his suppressions and persecutions are futile.—**Daily Citizen.**

FIRST CATCH YOUR MOUSE

As at present administered the Cat-and-Mouse Act is an egregious failure. "May Dennis," released, after hunger-striking from Armley Gaol, has disappeared from under the very noses of the police who were watching her. Mr. Justice Phillimore was right when he intimated that at all costs these dangerous women should be kept in prison. As it is they are released in a "desperate condition" and in a couple of days are well enough to escape!—**Evening News.**

NAUSEOUS AND FARCICAL

This business is becoming nauseous as well as farcical, and we are certain the limits of tolerance will soon be reached. . . . The more we see of the operation of the "Cat and Mouse" Act the more disturbed we become, and we heartily detest the use of such a weapon of coercion.—**Christian Commonwealth.**

THE COARSEST BLUNDER

The arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst before instead of after the funeral procession of Emily Davison was perhaps the coarsest blunder the Home Office has yet been responsible for in its struggle with the Militant Suffragists; and that is saying a good deal. . . . In the West End and along Shaftesbury Avenue, the spectators did what Mr. McKenna ought to have done—they took off their hats, and in many cases showed considerable emotion . . . . We are not concerned here to offer any comment upon the new form of capital punishment legalised by the Cat and Mouse Bill; we have only to point out that it will not be open to Mr. McKenna, or anyone else, to say after the event that he did not know what was happening. If Mrs. Pankhurst should die, the Home Secretary will have personally to shoulder the whole responsibility; he cannot and will not be allowed to shelter himself behind the backs of his medical officials.—**New Statesmen.**

A FARCICAL FAILURE

The device of the hunger strike has, in fact, completely dislocated the machinery for ensuring respect for the law. Mr. McKenna's "Cat and Mouse" Bill has, as Mrs. Pankhurst has proved, been a farcical failure, the only result of which is to inflict much suffering and injury on the prisoner. . . . There are only two alternatives left—no remission of the imprisonment under any circumstances, or deportation to some far-off island where these mistaken women can do little damage. No one would be surprised if, in the end, this latter solution of the difficulty will be the one finally adopted.—**Dublin Evening Herald.**

NOT TO BE RESISTED

Miss Kenney is a rebel. She avows it and glories in it. She, and others with her, are likely to break themselves against the law. Yet it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of their convictions. There is nothing of ambition or love of power in the attitude of the great majority of those who now demand justice on behalf of their sex. It is a claim which in logic and in reason should not be resisted.—**Dundee Evening Telegraph.**

THE ACT OF 1908

Protests continue to be made against the unjust Act of 1908, under which Mr. Pethick Lawrence has been recently penalised. At a meeting of the Dundee branch of the Independent Labour Party last week, the following resolution was passed unanimously, and copies of it were sent to the Prime Minister, to Mr. Winston Churchill (who is member for Dundee), to the Chairman of the Labour Party, and to the *Daily Citizen*:—

"That this meeting protests against the law passed in 1908, by which an innocent man cannot recover his costs from the authorities, while a man found guilty can be ordered to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as his own, and demands the immediate repeal or amendment of this law."

WELL-KNOWN WRITER REFUSES TO TRY WOMEN

Mr. Laurence Housman practised what he preaches so continually from writing-desk and lorry, when he refused to serve on the grand jury at the London Sessions this week. He stated that he had a conscientious objection to trying women as long as they were not on an equal footing with men; and he was excused from service on those grounds. If more men who are Suffragists were to make this very effective protest in the Courts, the public would soon be brought to realise the fact that women, in the present state of affairs, are not tried by their peers, and are therefore denied the elementary right of British citizens.

THE PRISON VAN ENQUIRY

In the House of Commons on June 19, Mr. Jowett asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will state concerning the investigation into the truth of complaints made by Suffragists about the conditions under which prisoners are removed in prison vans, if the investigation is being conducted in secret; if it is being conducted by the Commissioner of Police; and if the Commissioner of Police has refused to accept first-hand statements from the Suffragists who laid the complaints which are the subject of his enquiry?

Mr. McKenna: The enquiry will be made jointly by an Assistant Commissioner of Police and one of the Prison Commissioners. It will be an ordinary administrative enquiry, and not in public. First-hand statements by the Suffragists who complain will certainly be received. There has been no refusal of such statements.

READY SHORTLY.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE CONGRESS

Closing Scenes at Budapest

The International Woman Suffrage Congress, which was still in progress at Budapest when we went to press last week, was brought to a close with a farewell banquet on Friday evening, June 20, at which nearly a thousand guests were present. The admirable manner in which it was organised speaks well for the strength of the Woman Suffrage movement in Hungary, although politically there seems little immediate prospect there, in face of the strong Socialist opposition, of enfranchisement for women. Nor can we recommend them to look to England for a hopeful example to their politicians, as a Hungarian woman suggested to the writer of an interesting article on the Congress, which appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* on June 23.

"When you have votes in England, we shall get them here quite soon," this woman said—and we wish we felt, as she evidently does, that England still leads the world in matters of reform.

The writer (Mary Mortimer Maxwell) gives in the same article an interesting proof of the fact that even where justice is in some particulars shown to voteless women, they have no safeguard without the vote that injustice may not at any moment be substituted for it. A few months ago, says the writer of the article, "women teachers in the State or municipal school were paid upon precisely the same terms as men. The salaries were not high, and the men teachers asked for an increase in salaries. Then the educational authorities took part in that process which is known as robbing Peter to pay Paul, and they reduced the women's salaries in order to increase the men's. Therefore at present there is inequality of payment for equal work, and, as one Hungarian lady teacher expressed it to me, 'We women teachers are not what you call mad one bit—not at all, not at all! Just wait and see what we will do with Frauenstimmrecht!'"

CONCLUDING SESSIONS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 18

At Wednesday's session, in response to an appeal made by the treasurer, Mrs. Stanton Coit, for £1,000 for the purpose of establishing international headquarters for the International Alliance, the Congress raised £2,550 for the "cause" in the course of a few minutes. The British and American delegates contributed the greater part of this sum. The actual locality for the new headquarters and other arrangements were deferred for discussion at another session.

Madame Anna Wickell (Sweden) and Miss Courteney (England) read papers on the attitude which suffrage organisations should adopt towards political parties. The latter advocated the maintenance of a neutral position, but explained that British suffragists supported the Labour party not for party reasons but because their members in Parliament favoured Woman's Suffrage. In England, too, the Suffragists were combined in fighting against the Liberal Government because it was antagonistic to the women's cause, although there was a majority for it within the party. Miss Courteney is also reported to have said that it was better for those working by peaceful agitation not to identify themselves with militant suffragists, though she expressed respect for these. The matter was finally referred to the Resolutions Committee, with instructions to prepare a suitable resolution and submit it to the Congress.

At the Men's Congress

At the afternoon meeting of the Men's Congress, also sitting at Budapest, a very interesting paper was read by the delegate of the Norwegian Government, showing the practical effect of the introduction of Woman Suffrage in that country. Corruption had been eradicated, he said, and the forcible arbitrariness of male rule had been checkmated. Another Norwegian delegate stated that since women had the vote they had banished political indifference, which was a serious obstacle to political evolution. Whereas 70 per cent. of the women voted in Norway only 50 per cent. of the men voted at the last election. The women took their political duties far more seriously than men.

THURSDAY, JUNE 19

The White Slave Traffic formed the subject of discussion at Thursday's session. A large audience filled the hall of the Redoute, and resolutions were unanimously adopted that the International Women's Suffrage Congress should send a request to the Governments of all the countries represented to institute an international inquiry into the extent and causes of commercialised vice, and that the woman suffrage organisations of each country should ask their own Governments to make a national inquiry on the same lines. It was also suggested that women should be included in the commissions.

Connection with the Vote

In the course of the discussion most of the speakers argued that it was almost hopeless to expect to abolish commercialised vice unless women's suffrage was first obtained, and Mrs. Spencer (Australia) said there had never been a case of the white slave traffic there, and now that Australian women had been given the franchise commercialised vice would gain no entry.

The *Times* adds that Hungary furnishes a large contingent of victims to the White Slave Traffic. Mrs. Chapman Catt was nominated by the Congress to attend the next International White Slave Conference.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20

Strong sympathy with militancy, say both the *Morning Post* and the *Manchester Guardian*, was shown by the Congress at its concluding session on Friday, when, for the first time, militant Suffragists from England were allowed as fraternal delegates to address the meeting.

"Both militant leaders," continues the latter paper, "who protested against the exclusion of their party from the Congress, were given a rousing reception. Mrs. Despard argued that militancy was necessary at the present moment, and that the militants ought to be given representation at the Congress. At the conclusion of her speech the audience rose and cheered the speaker."

Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, who followed, complained that the fraternal delegates were neither permitted to speak nor to vote, and she said that the British delegates were not national delegates so long as the noble and self-sacrificing heroines of the militant societies were not represented. Mrs. Sanderson further protested against the want of hospitality shown toward the fraternal delegates, and severely condemned the narrowness and tyranny of the National Union in excluding other societies.

Mrs. Fawcett then intervened, to explain that Mrs. Sanderson's charges were unjustified. The National Union was in no way responsible for the position of the fraternal delegates, which was regulated by the constitution of the Congress.

Mrs. Sanderson declared that she hated the mention of the word "constitutional." The fraternal delegates demanded liberty to speak in the Congress as a right and not as a favour.

"At this point," says the *Manchester Guardian*, "the audience again rose and cheered enthusiastically."

Mrs. Chapman Catt then poured oil on the troubled waters by saying that the difficulty lay in adjusting the constitution of the Congress to meet the conditions today when the number of women's suffrage societies had so increased. She stirred them up afresh, however, by protesting against a few women claiming all the honour and glory as heroines and martyrs when all down the centuries there had been women equally devoted to the suffrage cause—a remark that caused the non-militants present to cheer loudly.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21

At Saturday's meeting, called in order to finish what business was left over, Mrs. Swanwick introduced a resolution to the effect that in a country enjoying rights of free speech, a free press, and freedom of political organisation, constitutional methods were best adapted to obtain women's suffrage. The Congress, however, refused to discuss Mrs. Swanwick's motion, because it had already made known its neutral attitude on the question of militancy.

Further Business

The Resolutions Committee reported that it had been found impossible to frame a resolution naming the political parties opposing or favouring Woman Suffrage. The upshot of this is that suffragists in different countries must be left free to act as they think fit.

With regard to the establishment of International Headquarters and the removal of the office of *Jus Suffragii* from Rotterdam, it was decided to leave this to the Board of Offices. It is considered highly probable, however, that both will be transferred to London.

A TELEGRAM TO MR. ASQUITH

The following telegram was sent to Mr. Asquith by the Men's International Congress:—

"Recognising that the representative institutions of Great Britain are regarded as examples by many nations, the Congress deeply regrets that the British Government has not succeeded in redeeming its promise of giving adequate facilities for passing a Women's Suffrage Bill, and trusts that Great Britain will yet be among the very next nations granting political justice to women."

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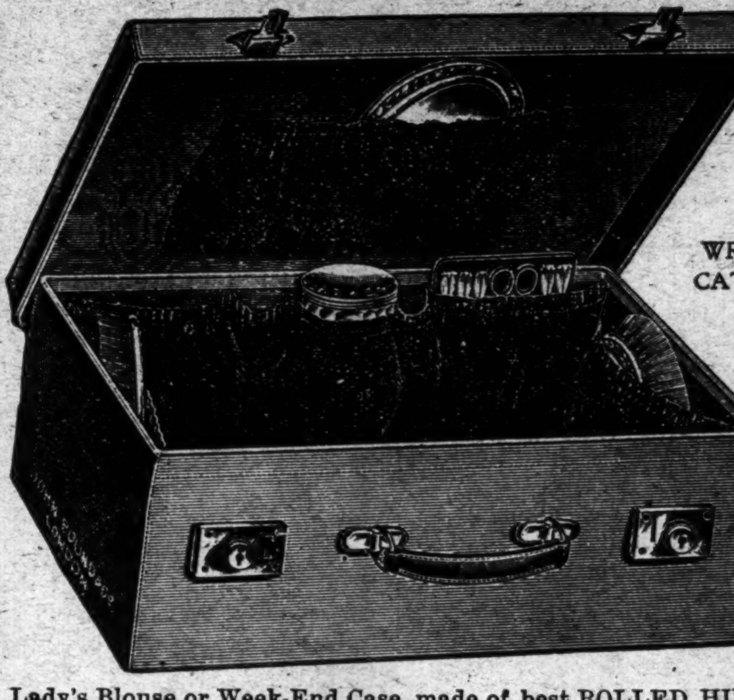

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THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The national situation with regard to Woman Suffrage in the United States has never been so full of interest. There are two ways in which national action might be taken and those States enfranchised in which women have not as yet won the vote. (1) By the presentation of a Suffrage amendment to the National Constitutional Convention, should one be summoned, as is possible, in 1915. (2) By the passage through Congress of a Suffrage amendment to the Constitution.

With regard to the former of these two alternatives, it does not seem likely that such a Convention will be called before 1915. It is interesting in this connection to note that the United States Constitution has not been changed, except for the addition of amendments, since its inception in 1789. Twenty-eight out of the thirty-two States required to demand the calling of the Convention, essential to the Reform of the Constitution, have already passed the necessary resolution, and there is every probability that when the Convention is finally summoned the Woman Suffrage amendment will be incorporated as one of the proposed changes in the Constitution of the United States.

In Congress

The second means by which American women may win the vote—by the passage of a Woman Suffrage amendment through Congress—is regarded as the more likely of success. Every hope is entertained that when the Senate comes to vote upon it the issue will be a favourable one. This it will be called upon to do shortly, for, as we announced last week, the amendment was favourably reported upon to the Senate by the Woman Suffrage Committee on June 11. The support in the Senate is by no means provided only by Senators from the Woman Suffrage States; many of the others, who represent States where the Suffrage Bill has passed one or both Houses of their State Legislature, are also warm partisans of the movement. So the debate, when it comes on, will be keenly interesting.

The *Woman Voter and Newsletter* (New York) points out, with reference to the national aspect of the movement, that, in Congress, as now constituted, one-fifth of the Senate and one-eighth of the House are elected by the aid of women's votes.

The Real Militants

The same paper prints the following note on those who are militant in America:—

"Those of our friends who fear that we will resort to militancy need not worry regarding the New York situation. We do not deny that militant tactics have already commenced in this country. They began in the fifties when the pioneers were attacked and stoned for upholding the equality of the sexes; they have continued and increased in lawlessness until in Washington a parade was mobbed this winter. But these are the methods pursued and endorsed by our opponents. As our victory becomes more certain, their attacks become more violent and aggressive. The Antis fear Woman Suffrage; so do the vicious and depraved elements of the community, who see in the enfranchisement of women the end of their own exploitation of the Government."

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A SHORT WAY WITH LAZY HUSBANDS

In Washington State, where women have the vote, a law has just come into effect (June 14) directed against the lazy husband who refuses to work and support his wife and family. The proper Parliamentary title of the new law, whatever this may be, is never used. It is known as the Lazy Husband Act, and it provides that all husbands who come into the courts charged with abandoning, or refusing to support their wives, shall be liable to a sentence not exceeding one year's imprisonment, during which they shall be compelled to work on the country roads for board, lodging, and $1.50 per day. The money earned will be handed over to the family once a month.

A Wise Judge

The Act is the outcome of the experimental work of Judge Fred C. Brown, of Seattle, who for some time has offered to lazy husbands convicted in his court the alternative of imprisonment and proffered work, the money earned by the latter to be brought to the Judge every pay-day. In some cases, the men chose prison sooner than the compulsory work; but out of 166 cases more than ninety families were re-established, where, without Judge Brown's expedient, the divorce court or absolute desertion would have been inevitable.

Women *count* in Washington State. When will they count in Great Britain?

THE INSURANCE ACT

THE MATERNITY BENEFIT

Mr. Masterman promises "Consideration"

An important deputation from the Women's Co-operative Guild (which represents nearly 30,000 married working-women) waited on Mr. Masterman, last week, to lay before him the amendments they wished incorporated in the Insurance Act Amendment Bill. Amongst other points raised by Miss Llewellyn Davies (general secretary of the Guild) were two dealing with the maternity benefit.

The Benefit—Not Imprisonment

She said:—

1. There was a unanimous feeling amongst working women that the maternity benefit should be paid to the wife and be her property. She gave cases of the abuse of the benefit by husbands, showing the necessity for this reform. Clause 19, giving power to prosecute the husband, was valueless, because what women needed at such a time was the maternity benefit and the wages that their husbands could bring in rather than their imprisonment.

2. During the passage of the Bill through the House of Lords, a clause was inserted which provided that if a doctor is called in by a midwife (under the Midwives Act) his fee to an amount to be prescribed by the Commissioners, should be paid out of the maternity benefit. Some large societies repudiated liability, and paid the benefit at once. But many others were delaying the payment of benefit for ten or twelve days to cover the risk. The "prescribed fee" clause affected the value of the benefit most injuriously, she said, and might create even a worse condition for poor women than before the Act, because, having relied on the benefit, they will not have the small customary savings—savings it was so desirable should be done away with because they meant stinted food or extra work.

Mr. Masterman's Reply.

After listening to these and other particulars with regard to the hardships entailed to married women under the present Act, Mr. Masterman is reported to have made a "sympathetic reply, and promised consideration of the points raised." How often have voteless women listened to similar non-committal replies when they have voiced their grievances to a Minister who is not directly responsible to them?

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WOMEN AND CHAINS

In reference to the charges of malingering under the Insurance Act which have been brought against employed married women, the following comments in the *Daily Citizen* are interesting:—

"The claims for sickness benefit by the women chainmakers of Cradley Heath have been abnormally large, and to ascertain whether there was any truth in the charges of malingering the General Federation of Trade Unions sent down a woman representative to investigate. She reports that she was unable to discover any cases of malingering. In reality these poor women, overstrained by their arduous work, underfed in consequence of their meagre wage, live on the borderland of chronic ailment. To save herself from utter starvation the woman is driven to work up till the last possible moment before her child is born, and to begin again directly she can rise from her bed. The natural result is that there is a very high proportion of sickness among married women. . . . Considering that these women have been robbed of their health for the sake of cheap chains and high profits it would seem, to put it mildly, a little ungracious to grudge them such modest compensation."

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WOMEN WRITERS AND OTHER WORKING WOMEN DEMAND VOTES

A vigorous demand for enfranchisement has been voiced this week, in different ways, by two bodies of working women. The Women Writers' Suffrage League has addressed the following letter to the Press:

"We, the undersigned, women of the pen and of the Press, who stand shoulder to shoulder with men in the art of literature without let or hindrance, without favouritism or animosity, who share with men the pleasures and pains of our profession, its rights, its wrongs, its praise, and its blame, hereby—individually, and as vice-presidents of our league—assert and maintain that the present attitude of rebellion, anarchy, and defiance which many otherwise loyal and law-abiding women have adopted towards the Government is largely due to the lack of straight dealing and to the almost inconceivable blundering of that Government.

"That Government, sir, has paltered with a problem of the deepest significance. It seems to have forgotten that 5¼ million of women workers, forced by our social laws into the labour market, instead of being, as heretofore, dependent upon men for their livelihood, are taxed unconstitutionally, many of them sweated unmercifully.

"It has failed to see that the whole conditions of woman's life are different in this twentieth century from what they were in the tenth; it has failed to realise the elemental nature of the movement, and has treated it in a spirit of shuffling insincerity unworthy of serious statesmen.

"By this appalling ignorance and negligence it has induced and encouraged a state of tyranny and resistance which is a disgrace both to England and to Englishmen.—(Signed)

Flora Annie Steel, President.
Beatrice Harraden, Vice-President.
Alice Meynell, Vice-President.
Gertrude Baillie Reynolds, Vice-President.
Elizabeth Robins, Vice-President.
Evelyn Sharp, Vice-President.
May Sinclair, Vice-President.
Margaret Todd, M.D., Vice-President.
Margaret L. Woods, Vice-President.
E. Ayrton Zangwill, Vice-President.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
12 and 13, Henrietta Street, W.C."

From the Working Women

The working women of Bow and Bromley, Poplar, Stepney, West Ham, Bermondsey, and Hackney, who compose the East London Federation of the W.S.P.U., are organising a declaration to the Prime Minister, in which they demand the immediate extension of votes to working women. In the course of it they say:

"We urgently direct your attention to the intolerable situation which has arisen through the long delay in dealing with this important question. So bitter a sense of injustice has this delay produced, and so much turbulence and unrest, that since the beginning of this year upwards of £100,000 worth of property has been destroyed by women as a protest against their continued exclusion from citizen rights."

The declaration ends by urging that a measure of enfranchisement would at once put a stop to this continued unrest.

(By kind permission of "The Daily Mail," in which this picture appeared on June 20.)

Miss Aileen Emmet, a nine-year-old competitor at the International Horse Show, at Olympia. There have never before been so many women competitors, Miss Mona Dunn alone having forty entries.

WINDOW-BREAKER'S SPEECH FROM THE DOCK

Mrs. Gertrude Elizabeth Shaw, already known as the suffragist who held the Monument against the police for several hours, last April, was sentenced to 21 days' imprisonment at Bow Street Police Court, on Saturday last, for breaking a window worth 2s. 6d. in the Scotland Yard Lost Property Office. In the dock Mrs. Shaw admitted that she was a rebel, and pleaded justification on the grounds of political and moral necessity. She had felt compelled to make her protest in order to express her hostility to the present legal system, and more particularly to the treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst by the Government, and the severe sentences passed on the W.S.P.U. defendents in the recent Conspiracy Trial. In the course of her speech Mrs. Shaw also said:—

"As for direct justification of my action the Government takes my money and uses it for purposes that I approve as little as the Government approves my breaking its windows. On grounds of equity, what right has the Government to rob me as it has done of a sum of about £100 in income-tax, and to send me to prison for breaking 2s. 6d. worth of its glass? I have paid for that pane and hundreds more in the money taken from me without my consent, and for which I have had no return whatever. I have travelled in many lands, but I have never yet been able to discover what benefits I enjoy in my own by belonging to it. If you tell me I share in the general benefits of the Community, I reply, so does every alien woman who visits this country; so does every sheep, cow, and horse.

"True, you protect the women you tax as you protect the sheep you fleece. You protect the women who give you your citizens as you protect the cow whose milk and whose powers of reproduction you need and utilize. You protect the women whose labour you exploit as you protect the horse whose work is valuable. Cruelty to a woman incurs no heavier penalties than cruelty to an animal. It is illegal to starve a woman to death as it is illegal to starve an animal—and short of that she has no claims. The death penalty for killing the woman arises, naturally, as a necessary protection for an animal, not only more valuable than others, but absolutely essential to the race. Where is the full recognition of our rights as human beings? . . . .

"At a Heavy Cost of Life"

"The reform which we are striving for is so far-reaching, the sum of human degradation and wretchedness involved so incalculable, the ultimate gain to humanity so far in excess of the ends obtainable by any reformation undertaken in modern times, that I cannot escape the belief that such benefits will be purchased, as they always have been purchased, at a heavy cost of life. We must pay an adequate price for a great thing, and it seems that only when we women have paid it, will our countrymen wake to the terrible realities which are visible to us and which we seek in our own persons to make visible to them. We stand for a principle—the principle of humanity—for the duty of arousing at any cost, the Nation to its responsibility for the lives and honour of its miserable women, its unfortunate daughters, its helpless children. Surely if ever there was a moral obligation laid upon anyone, it is on those who see and know, and have the power of expression, to avail themselves of any means which lie open to them for opening the eyes of those who do not see and do not understand, and yet have the power.

"The manhood of a country has fallen low, indeed, when it no longer recognises that a woman has a right to any weapon for the defence of her honour—when it has no recognition of the courage in this fight for honour, but obscures the issue by paltry quibbles as to the weapons which are used in the struggle."

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Mr. HOBHOUSE HECKLED

Neither Suffragists nor judges seem inclined to allow Mr. Hobhouse to forget the luckless speech he once made about Nottingham Castle. At a banquet in the Wharncliffe Rooms on Sunday evening, on rising to reply to the toast of "Our Guests," one of these guests, a lady, stood up and asked him whether he was satisfied with the effect he had made upon women by his inciting speech about Nottingham Castle. When she had been ejected from the room (ejectment of the questioner being still the only answer that members of the Government have to give to those who stand for justice to women), a man rose and wanted to know if Mr. Hobhouse was proud of the way that Mrs. Pankhurst and other victims of the Cat and Mouse Act were being done to death. A third interrupter, also a man, mentioned justice to women, and was at once pounced upon for his pains. It must have been an ironic position for the speaker, whose duty it was to say gracious things about the very people who were being ejected under his eyes—though not more ironic than the whole position of a Liberal Government that denies representation to those whom it taxes.

Sir Rufus Isaacs

The Attorney-General was also interrupted by Suffragists when addressing his constituents at Reading this week.

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THE MEN FROM THE NORTH

Invasion of London to Demand Votes for Women

"The North of England," says the *Daily Herald*, "is ablaze at the Government's treatment of women." A movement is, indeed, on foot to organize a men's deputation from the North, who will come to London and demand an interview with the Prime Minister with a view to insisting that he should put an end to the present intolerable situation by granting a measure of enfranchisement to women. A most interesting feature of the deputation is the fact that it will be strictly non-party, and will consist of responsible Liberal, Labour, and Conservative men, all co-operating in a great constitutional demand for justice. They will come from all parts, even as far North as Edinburgh, where Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett was speaking to a meeting of men on the subject as we went to press last Wednesday. All particulars, including the date of departure, for the Scottish contingent, can be obtained on application to Mr. Alexander Orr, Fettes Row, Edinburgh.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 „
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 „
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 „
Mr. Donald M'Ewan	May 19	9 „
Miss Margaret Scott	June 16	1 month
Mrs. Hyde	June 18	14 days
Miss Bunten	„	14 „
Mrs. Gertrude Shaw	June 21	21 „

CORRESPONDENCE

THE CHURCHES AND THE NEW SPIRIT

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors, — With monotonous regularity reports have been issued during the last decade showing how the Church is losing its hold on the great mass of the people. The decline in membership, in conviction, in inspiration, are said to be due, now to one cause, now to another; and with almost frenzied zeal remedies varying from rather flat entertainments to the absolute exclusion of such things and the substitution of periods of prolonged meditation are proposed and tried, but notwithstanding all these "cures," the drift continues ever away from the churches.

Yet, would the churches but examine their own condition with scientific impartiality they might be struck by the fact that those institutions which have met with the highest success have been precisely those in the working out of which women have been largely engaged. Had the Salvation Army, for instance, placed women in a position of serfdom instead of leadership, had they allowed themselves to be bound by strange traditions, beyond a doubt they would simply have "fizzled out" long since. But, with true insight, they revived a practice of the past and placed in posts of responsibility the women to whom others would assign only the menial tasks, the performing of the unappreciated, the filling of the pews. And in so doing they brought to their aid that woman energy which some have said is the Life Force, and some named God.

It is the high calling of the churches to witness to the eternal in the midst of time, their place is the van in the attack on Doubting Castle; but while they deliberately shut out the most moral and devoted half of the community they can know nothing but defeat. For women are a little nearer to the truth of things, a little better fitted to be the prophets of the new age, than men can ever hope to be. Truly, they are not so strongly agitating for Ecclesiastical as for political emancipation, but that is simply because, for the time at least, the task seems hopeless, and, perhaps, hardly worth the doing. But unless the churches throw off their blind conservatism the woman movement, because movement is the essence of its being, must pass them by. And this new spirit is as the blood upon the posts of the doors, salvation from everlasting death.—Yours, &c.,

Charles Gray.

LIBERALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—At a Convention held at Revelstoke last week the Liberal Party of British Columbia unanimously embodied in its platform a plank pledging itself to grant full Woman Suffrage when returned to power.

We are not out here of the Asquith-Churchill-McKenna brand of Liberalism.—Yours, &c.,

Frank Burnett.

429, Pender Street, Vancouver, B.C.
June 5, 1913.

MISS EMERSON AND THE HOME OFFICE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—Mr. McKenna stated in the House of Commons on June 13 that I had not had an attack of appendicitis whilst I was in prison, and that I had not been released on the ground of health.

Whilst I was in prison I remained without food for fourteen days, and was then forcibly fed for five weeks. I became rapidly thinner. I was always cold, and suffered acutely from continual flatulence and regurgitation, which only stopped after my operation for appendicitis a month ago.

On Sunday morning, March 9, I began to have a sharp pain in my side. All that day I was in a fever, my skin burned and yet I had a continual shivering. The doctor took my temperature and told me to go to bed at once. Later in the evening one of the women officers heated a blanket and wrapped me up in it, and brought me my hot-water bottle, which I put over the place where the pain was. The hot water-bottle was refilled several times during the night. Between nine and ten o'clock that night the doctor visited me and took my temperature, and although I told him where the pain was he did not examine me.

I stayed in bed for a couple of days. The pain in my side was still there when I was released between eight and nine p.m. on April 8.

I was very weak and ill when I was released, and was taken to a nursing home in an ambulance. My doctor did not consider that I was fit for an operation until May 16, five weeks after I was released, yet Mr. McKenna says I was not released on the grounds of health. On what grounds then was I released?

My sentence in the ordinary course would have expired on April 18, as I understand that hunger strikers are made to forfeit the one-sixth remission which is granted for good conduct. Even had the remission been granted to me, I was not due for release until Thursday, the 10th.

Can it be that the English Government acted in response to representations made by the Government of America to put an end to the torture of a countrywoman?—Yours faithfully, Zelie Emerson.

19, Southampton Buildings,
Chancery Lane, W.C. June 20.

FROM AN ALTRINCHAM VOTER

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Sirs,—My belief in the absolute need for the enfranchisement of women, and confidence in its ultimate acceptance, increases with recent developments. Developments, I mean, by which, as we see, prosecutions are becoming persecutions, law is becoming oppression, and the law courts are failing as courts of justice.

I read Miss Kenney's noble appeal before the judge, and that judge's summing up, with a burning sense of shame. By courtesy we are to speak of that judge as Mr. Justice Phillimore, but I distinguish between the dispenser of the law and the dispenser of justice. Law is unfortunately not always synonymous with justice. Too often the weaker go to the wall. Probably had Miss Kenney been as powerfully surrounded as is Sir Edward Carson and his party, her oration would have been rewarded with acclamation, and she (and her co-workers) would have left the court without the proverbial "stain on her character." But she was guilty of being on the weaker side, and the majesty of the law must be maintained.

With a view to by-elections, and, as I believe, the soon-coming General Election, I wish to suggest what I feel sure will have a helpful effect towards the long obstructed enfranchisement of women. Just prior to the recent by-election at Altrincham, on finding that both candidates were anti-suffragists, I determined to show my sympathy with the movement by writing across my ballot paper "Vote for Women." I find I was only one of several who "spoiled" their papers in that way. I use the word "spoiled" because that is the official term; and in that election there were fifty-one classed as "spoiled." How many of them were treated as I treated mine, I don't know, but I am convinced that candidates, eager for every vote they can possibly get, are not likely to disregard the risk, and so I desire to commend to every man who is in sympathy with the movement, and who desires to give unmistakable evidence to that effect at coming parliamentary elections, that where candidates are unsatisfactory with regard to the question he writes on his ballot paper, instead of the stereotyped cross, the words,

Votes for Women.

Hale, June 24, 1913.

IF IT IS OUR MONEY THEY WANT

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—The writer of the letter in your last week's issue with the above heading has got the key of the position. Nearly all social and political efforts seek the aid of women in every way to provide "the sinews of war." Once men attain their several aims, whether clerical, social, or political, the useful worker is put aside and thought stupid for being used as a thankless tool.

Let women direct all their unpaid efforts to the uplifting of women and children; let them combine or act individually to ignore every charity, every business, and every entertainment which are run by opposers to women's votes, and let them help every charity, every business, and every entertainment run by those in favour of "Votes for Women." Those like your writer who have money and could re-invest it as safely in New Zealand, or Australia, where women have votes and which are still British, let them do so, and it will not be so bitter for lovers of England.

Let women help women in every way, and so make them free from the coercion of men with narrow, selfish views of life. —Yours, &c.,

Another Non-Militant.

"ANTI" FALLACIES

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I was much struck during a tour of the Services Exhibition yesterday at Earl's Court, by the extraordinary ignorance betrayed by the official advertiser of the Anti-Suffrage campaign at this stall.

After an effort to be impressive over the triumphal announcement that the White Slave Traffic Amendment Bill was brought forward in the House by an Anti-Suffragist, I was informed that this had effected "*a clean sweep.*" This fallacy, while regrettable enough in the mouth of the average humdrum or unsophisticated citizen, is, of course, unpardonable in the case of those who profess to be dealing with facts and educating (?) the British public.

During subsequent conversation in regard to the aims and ideals of the Woman's Movement, this lady agreed to the "sex equality" proposition, but almost immediately afterwards said this was ridiculous, "for men are as God made them." Such tangled notions as to evolution, social reform and Nature are apparently only excusable in an "Anti" crusade. Heaven help England if the blind follow the blind here!

By the way, this harping on sex and numerical proportion must strike the "average man" as unnecessary; for, if he takes sincerity to be the keynote of Anti-Suffrage argument, he must reflect that the very absence of these "overwhelming thousands" of electoral *absentees* would nullify this argument. It is the use of the vote, not its possession, that they are really talking to him about.—Yours, &c.,

Hugo Ames.

25, St. James' Square, W.

READERS!

YOU CAN HELP

our paper,

"VOTES FOR WOMEN,"

by giving all your custom to those

FIRMS WHO ADVERTISE

in our columns.

Tell them why you do it.

TAX RESISTANCE

Two effective tax resistance protests have been made at Southend. In one case Mrs. Douglas-Hamilton, who conducts and owns a convalescent home by the sea for poor children, has refused to pay Inhabited House Duty on this home; in the other, Mrs. Sky was the resister, after having paid taxes for twenty years upon her house and hairdresser's shop, which she has conducted entirely by her own efforts since she was left a widow with a family to support. A most successful protest meeting was held at the Clarence Hall, Southend, on June 21, presided over by the Rev. Fleming Williams. Subsequently the goods of both women were sold by public auction, and another meeting was held outside the auction rooms.

For refusal to pay licences on a motor-car and a liveried servant, Mrs. Louis Fagan appeared at the West London Police Court on June 20. She explained her reasons for non-payment, and in reply the magistrate said that though he appreciated Mrs. Fagan's scruples, he could not allow political speeches to influence the Bench. A fine of £20 and costs was imposed, to include the eight guineas and one guinea licences.

Goods belonging to Professor Edith Morley, of University College, Reading, were sold on June 24 on distraint; an open-air protest meeting was held after the sale.

OXFORD HONOURS LIST

In the Oxford Honours List of Modern Languages one man and four women obtained first class honours; the names of the women are Miss Kate Chester, Miss Dora Ibberson, Miss Margaret Shaw, and Miss Elizabeth Waller. In the Second Class Honours List appear the names of seven men and eight women.

One woman—Miss Ruth Hutton—and three men obtained First Class Honours in English Language and Literature, and eight women and seven men are in the Second Class Honours List.

THE "HONOUR" OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

We notice that the *Manchester Courier*, commenting upon the missile thrown at Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons recently, says—"It is the worst of signs that men can be found so warped, so neurotic, so lost to all sense of decency in public life as to stoop to such an insult to an institution which every right-thinking citizen holds in honour."

We hasten to assert that we do not wish to be included among "right-thinking citizens" if such a classification implies a belief in the "honour" of the present House of Commons. A House that makes pledges to women when there is no chance of their being redeemed, and breaks them when their redemption means business; a House that meets day after day to conduct the affairs of the nation and utterly ignores the one great national movement for which one woman has just died and others are facing death by hunger strike, and that hundreds and thousands of others are pouring out their life blood to serve; a House that could callously pass the most devilish measure that has ever stained the Statute Book, and then remain indifferent to the sufferings of those who are its victims; a House that can do all these mean, cruel, and unutterably dishonourable things in order to suppress a demand for which it can show a majority if it chooses, has forfeited every claim to the respect of "right-thinking citizens," and to speak of its "honour" is a farce.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

The Committee has forwarded a protest against the Cat and Mouse Act to the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary. They recognise that coercion is no remedy for revolt which is bred by injustice, and call upon all constitutional suffragists to see that the same fair treatment is meted out to militants which every English subject has a right to expect. For the first time under English law political prisoners may be released at the Home Secretary's discretion and re-arrested without any further trial. The Suffragette prisoners risk death by starvation as a protest against the present unjust conditions of life, and even those who do not agree with their methods can recognise that not one of them has committed any crime which is not amply atoned for by the torture of starvation, a self-inflicted penalty more terrible than any judge dare award. Mrs. Pankhurst, if still alive, is to undergo this process for the fourth time! Let every suffragist protest against an Act which the majority of released prisoners have already evaded, and under which those who have not attempted escape are being slowly done to death.

In the meantime, what are avowed suffragist supporters in the House of Commons doing to forward the cause they believe in? Are they content to look on and criticise the efforts of others whilst they themselves remain in comfortable quiescence?

Recent Meetings.—On the 16th, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss Wright, and Mrs. Douglas Knocker spoke at Mrs. Fleming Baxter's, in Phillimore Gardens. Several members joined. Mr. Gillespie was the chief speaker at the At Home on the 17th, and his address on woman and the laws was much appreciated. This meeting is the last to be held in the office; in future they will be held in the new lecture room at 143A in the Arcade.

Forthcoming Meetings

June 29-July 1.—Bristol Open-air Campaign. Speakers, Mrs. Merivale Meyer, Miss Eva Ward.

June 29.—Hyde Park, noon.

July 1.—Park Mansions Arcade. 3 p.m., Mrs. Aino Malmberg, "The Women of Finland," Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Hostess, Mrs. Rhuvon Guest.

July 2.—55, Cornwall Gardens. Hostess, Mrs. Matthews. Speakers, Mrs. Chapman, Mr. Horace Crawford. Chair, Miss Forsyth.

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A CORRECTION

We greatly regret that the clever cartoon entitled "The Beacon," reproduced by us last week, was inadvertently attributed to the *Daily News and Leader* instead of the *Daily Chronicle*, in which paper it appeared on June 12, and to whom we now make our grateful acknowledgments.

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REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Wednesday Night, June 18.—Parish church of Rowley, near Dudley, destroyed by fire. Outbreak may have been due to subterranean fire, not uncommon in Black Country mining districts.

Cavity blown in embankment of Birmingham and Stratford-on-Avon Canal.

Friday, June 20.—Large house at Solihull, near Birmingham, destroyed by fire. Postcard found addressed to Mr. Justice Phillimore bearing the words "Judge not that ye be judged," and another "Release our comrades. Votes for women."

Saturday, June 21.—East wing of Batty's Marine Laboratory at St. Andrews University, destroyed by fire, many scientific drawings and materials said to be destroyed; damage estimated at £500.

Sunday, June 22.—Letters damaged in letter-box at Greenwich Central Post Office.

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IN THE COURTS

Saturday, June 21.—At the Kingston Police Court, charged with setting fire to the Hurst Park race stands, Miss Kitty Marion and Miss Clara Giveen; committed for trial, bail granted in £2,000 each and one surety each of £1,000.

At the Bow Street Police Court, before Sir John Dickinson, charged with breaking with a hammer a window at New Scotland Yard, Mrs. Gertrude Shaw; fined 40s. and 2s. 6d. damages, or 21 days' imprisonment; fine not paid.

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QUALITY AND VALUE

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of Gem Jewellery and Gold and Silver Plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money.—[ADVT.]

COMING EVENTS

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30 to 6.15 p.m. Speakers: Miss Edith Palliser, Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, and others.

The Women's Freedom League announce a meeting at the Portman Rooms on June 30 at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Perkins Gilman will lecture on "The Real Devil." Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s., obtainable at the W.F.L. or at the Hall. The League will also hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall on July 2 at 3.30 p.m., at which Dr. Josiah Oldfield will speak on "Food, Fasting, and Freedom."

The Church League for Women's Suffrage announce a public reception at the Hove Town Hall on July 1, at 7.30 p.m. Speakers, the Right Rev. E. N. Powell, D.D., Miss Grace Byham, and others.

There will be a meeting of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Friday, July 4; reception, 8 p.m.; speeches 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Neal, and Rev. F. M. Green. Admission by ticket; obtainable by Fellows only.

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold a meeting with the Divorce Law Reform Union at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on July 4, at 3 p.m. Subject: "The Reform of the Divorce Law." Speakers: Mr. Plowden, Madame Lydia Yavorska, and others.

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SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

AN ADMIRABLE IDEA

A correspondent informs us that she is paying for a Woman Suffrage advertisement to appear in the North Devon Journal during the summer months. This seems to us such an admirable form of propaganda that perhaps some of our readers might like to do the same thing in their local papers. The particular advertisement in question is as follows:—

"Englishmen! Do you know that

"WOMEN in NEW ZEALAND have the VOTE?

"WOMEN in AUSTRALIA have the VOTE?

"WOMEN in NORWAY have the VOTE?

"WOMEN in FINLAND have the VOTE?

"WOMEN in several AMERICAN STATES have the VOTE?

"Do you know also that Englishwomen have asked constitutionally and Lawfully for over 50 years for Justice, and have been laughed at by Statesmen and ignored by the Press?

"Drop your Antiquated Prejudices, Englishmen! Wake up! Move with the Times! Don't lag like some old cripple behind younger and smarter nations!

"GIVE WOMEN the VOTE."

◆

HOMESPUNS FOR FINE WEATHER.

"Burberrys" has become a word so closely associated in the British mind with bad weather that few people realise how Burberry now caters almost as much for fair weather as for foul, and one can buy there the lightest and most becoming dresses for warm days and smart functions.

In addition to their already large stock of materials, Burberry's have just brought out two new ones: "Cuagh," a Scotch homespun, made in the cottages of Lowland crofters, and "Cusha," a hand-spun, hand-dyed product of the peasants of North Ireland.—[ADVT.]

HAYFORD'S
"SPECIAL" SKIN GLOVES.
REALLY WASHABLE.
WHITE. CREAM. NAT'L. } 2 Buttons, 2/11 & 3/11 | SAXE, to pull on. 3/11 Elastic Wrists.
GLOVE STORES, SLOANE ST., S.W.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY 69, Upper St. London, N.
MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Dental Surgeon.
MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Assist. Dental Surgeon
Established 35 years.
Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. FEE, 7s. 6d.
A record of 30,000 successful cases. Nurse in attendance. Mechanical work in all its branches.
THE BEST ARTIFICIAL TEETH from 5s
Send Postcard for Pamphlet. Tel. No. 6348 Central
No Show-case at door.

FREDERICK GORRINGE'S
Summer Sale
commences
MONDAY
Next, June 30th

TWICE a year, before the seasons close, we hold a Sale to clear completely our current stocks. Our ordinary values are acknowledged to be unrivalled; and, as our Sales comprise goods of Gorringe Grade only, they represent the finest bargain opportunity in London for seasonable goods of high character.

REDUCTIONS
IN EVERY DEPARTMENT

Frederick Gorringe LTD
BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, S.W.

◆

A REAL SALE.

Our readers should not miss the opportunity of visiting Messrs. Gorringe, Ltd., of Buckingham Palace Road, whose sale commences on June 30 and continues all through July. They are offering great bargains in all departments; they have a large and varied stock of natural heavy-weight Shantung coats at popular prices, and are making an exceptional offer of white French kid gloves. Specially good value is offered in white petticoats and soft, satin petticoats in a large variety of designs and colours, while the entire stock of fashionable parasols is to be sold, many being reduced to less than one-third the original value. Above all, our readers should not fail to visit the millinery department, where black tulle hats of various shapes are being offered at the low price of 25s. 9d., and real Panama hats may be purchased from 10s. 9d.—[ADVT.]

William CLARKE & SON,
341, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS, W.C.
85, QUEEN'S ROAD, BAYSWATER, W.
COAL.
LOWEST SUMMER PRICES.

Silkstone	26/6	Roaster Nuts	22/0
Best Household ..	25/-	Large Kitchen ..	21/6
Special House ..	24/6	Stove Coal	21/-
Best Nuts	23/6	Anthracite Nuts ..	40/-

Coke, per Chaldron, 15/-.
Telephones: 3656, 1592 and 2718 North,
565 Paddington, &c.

An Interesting Profession.
Every woman must feel a desire to be independent, and the choice of a profession is thus a matter of importance.

Learn Swedish Massage, and you will have a profession where the work is more congenial and is much better paid than the work in most other professions.
You would be well advised to apply for particulars to—
MATRON, Harley Institute
141, Marylebone Rd., W

Real Foot Ease
'BENDUBLE'
House Shoes
give a sense of ease and restfulness equalled by no other shoe at any price. The secret lies in the velvety softness and easy flexibility of the specially selected leather from which they are made.
EASY, ELEGANT, SILENT, DURABLE
"Benduble" House Shoes provide comfort with elegance, durability with daintiness. Their silent, squeakless tread makes them invaluable in the sick room. They are as durable as finest British leather and workmanship can make them.
Worn by Hundreds of Nurses.
Made in all sizes and half-sizes, with narrow, medium, or hygienic shape toes.
Per Pair. 5/11 Postage 4d. (Two pairs post free.)
Call at our Showroom or send for
1913 FOOTWEAR
BOOK FREE
which contains full particulars and illustrations of "Benduble" Footwear, Slippers, Gaiters, Overshoes, Hosiery, Instep Supports, Trees, &c.

BENDUBLE SHOE CO.
(Dept. C.),
443, WEST STRAND, LONDON, W.C.
(1st Floor.)
Hours—9.30 to 5
Sats.—9.30 to 1
"The last word" in comfort.
SEND TODAY FOR FREE BOOK

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less 2s, 1d. per word for every additional word

(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, June 27, 3.30-6.15. Miss Edith Palliser, Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, delegate from Budapest, Miss C. Marshall (Hon. Parliamentary Sec. N.U.W.S.S.), and speech on "The Pilgrimage," Mrs. Corbett Ashby.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting in Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday afternoon, July 2. Speakers: Dr. Josiah Oldfield on "Food, Fasting, and Freedom," and Miss Nina Boyle. The chair will be taken by Capt. Carey, R.N., at 3.30. Admission free.

BIRTHS

PANTLIN.—On the 20th June, at Linkwell, Bexhill-on-Sea, to Mollie (née Cather) and Charles Rivers Pantlin, a daughter, Pamela Mary.

EATES.—On the 23rd inst., at 24, Hayes Crescent, Golders Green, to Dr. and Mrs. A. R. Eates, a daughter.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

A LADY (schoolmistress), having charge of boy (specially nice lad of 13) for summer holidays, would like another of same age; farmhouse East Coast; 30s. weekly.—S. R., International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s.; close Baker Street Underground and Tube; bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone: 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—A visit to "Sea-View," Victoria Road, the best tonic. Hostess, Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. Terms moderate. Outdoor sleeping accommodation if required. Nat. Tel., 1702.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE. — Bella - Christa, 14, Castle Hill Avenue. Board residence; good position; near Leas, sea, and pleasure gardens; separate tables; cycle accommodation.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

HEIGHTS OF UDIMORE (300ft).—Board-residence, modernised farmhouse; delightful grounds, tennis, croquet; from 35s.—Ridley, Parsonage Place, Udimore, near Rye.

HYDE PARK.—Refined, comfortable home for ladies; visitors, telephone, baths; very central position; moderate terms.—19, James Street, Westbourne Terrace.

MEDICAL MAN, married, residing in healthy seaside town near Deeside, Highlands, wishes to receive a lady into his house as paying guest.—Box 400, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

MEMBER, lonely, would like Lady to share home; every comfort; good servant; high ground; south aspect; terms low; Reading.—Box 382, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

PARIS.—English Ladies receive Paying-Guests in comfortable house; large garden; beautiful riverside scenery; 21 minutes to centre of city.—Misses Shand, Belvedere, Chatou, Seine et Oise.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUMMER SCHOOL (Vegetarian Diet), BEXHILL-ON-SEA; Mrs. and Miss Sutch; ideal holiday party; charming house in own grounds, 4½ acres, overlooking sea; excursions, games, entertainments, lectures, bathing, boating, &c., &c.—Send for illustrated booklet to Secretary, 100, Newington Causeway, London, S.E.

TWO AUSTRALIAN WOMEN VOTERS, settled in London wish woman paying guest; partial board; Highgate, later, central.—D. H., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CROM—.—First-rate Apartments, view of sea and pier; good cooking and attendance. — Dawson, Balmoral, Cabbell Road, Cromer.

HALF-HOUSE, unfurnished, containing 4 large rooms, scullery, lavatory, coal-cellar, and garden; no children.—Reply stamp, 1, Hawkshead Road, close Roundwood Park, Willesden.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

MODERN FURNISHED COTTAGE, six rooms, balcony, garden; near golf course, 2 miles from Chesham.—Apply to Miss Hodge, 21, Abingdon Mansions, W.

NEAR CLOVELLY.—Comfortable Seaside Cottage to let, June, July; 2 living, 4 bedrooms, bath; very quiet; good bathing.—Lady Maude Whyte, Bideford.

30/- WEEKLY, 6 months from July 16, furnished flat; 1 sitting, 2 bedrooms, kitchen geyser bath, unfurnished; £52 yearly; furniture moderate.—Goodhart, 29, St. George's Mansions, Red Lion Square.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

TO GIRLS SEEKING A USEFUL AND ATTRACTIVE CALLING.

ANSTEY COLLEGE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HYGIENE, ERDINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE, offers a full professional training in the following subjects: Swedish Educational and Medical Gymnastics, Aesthetic Dancing, Folk Dancing, Swimming, Games, Anatomy, Hygiene, &c.

GOOD POSTS OBTAINED AFTER TRAINING.

MODERN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Letchworth.—Principal, Miss Cartwright, M.A.; staff includes specialists and University graduates; pupils prepared for professional entrance examinations; bracing moorland air; home comforts.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.), Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Châlet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

COOK-GENERAL WANTED.—Four in family; no children; no washing or window cleaning; help given; wages, £18-£20.—Apply, 66, Adelaide Road, Hampstead, N.W.

WANTED AT ONCE, thoroughly trustworthy Cook-General; no upstairs work, washing put out; plain cooking; wages £20; good outings.—F., 58, Loughborough Road, Leicester.

GARDENING.

GARDENING for Health.—Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

RIDING

RIDING.—Miss Eva Christy—Author of "Modern Side-saddle Riding," &c., and teacher of Cross-saddle and Side-saddle Riding, has vacancy for another student to train for the profession of teaching riding, including educational and scientific principles as required in the modern schools and colleges; fees reasonable.—1, Dennington Park Mansions, London.

BUSINESS, Etc.

IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 9188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

DRESSMAKER, high-class, cuts, fits, and re-models at ladies' houses or at home; sketches copied; furs renovated; country orders executed from pattern bodices.—Box 398, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

MADAME DE VALLOISE, Court Milliner, 18, Berners Street, has opened a Renovation Department. Hats and Dresses remodelled to look like new, at reasonable charges.

MORA PUCKLE (late of Baker Street) has removed to 399, Oxford Street (opposite *Times* Book Club). Modern artistic dresses, coats, and djibbahs. Prices moderate. Entrance Gilbert Street.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. — Latest West End and Paris styles, from 3½ guineas. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's)

WANTED.—Dressmaker, to give entire time to making of gymnastic costumes at home.—Apply by letter to Miss Bear, 16, Campden Hill Court, W.

LAUNDRY.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collection; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S LINEN carefully washed and daintily finished by Beaven's Lavender Laundry. A trial solicited. A postcard receives prompt attention.—90, Lavender Road, Clapham Junction.

LADIES, why have your Linen Laundered in London when for the same prices it can be done at an ideal country laundry? Abundance of water and large drying green; returned early, correctly, and to time.—Sunnyside Laundry, Stevenage, Herts.

MISS WOOD wishes to recommend her French laundress; fine lingerie a spécialité.—French Laundry, 194, Elthorne Road, Hornsey Rise, N.; and 10A, Cambridge Place, Paddington, W.

THE NEW GROSVENOR LAUNDRY, 55, Strafford Road, South Acton, W., undertake family work only; flannels washed in distilled water; open-air drying ground; highest class work at moderate prices. Telephone 10 Chiswick.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 8307 Paddington.

CERTIF. SWEDISH MASSEUSE and Medical Gymnast desires clients for face massage; also physical training for children and ladies; will visit ladies' houses.—4, Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park. Tel.: Padd. 7091.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

DAINTY AFTERNOON TEA CAKES. Try our 1s. 6d. box. Carriage paid, carefully packed. Cash with order.—James Strachan, High Street, Forres, Scotland.

FISH, fresh, specially selected, best quality, carefully prepared, ready for cooking, packed and delivered, carriage paid, at prices from 1s. 6d. per 4lb parcel upwards. Cash with order.—Free Delivery Fish Supply Co., 34, Marischal Street, Aberdeen.

FRESH FISH.—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

GIVE THE FISHERMAN A CHANCE:

FRESH FISH, 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb, 2s. 6d.; cleansed; carriage paid; lists free.—The Fisherman's Syndicate, No. 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BRINSMEAD Upright Iron Grand, check repeater action, 20gs.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

CORSETS, latest forms, 18 inches length, made to measure from 12s. 6d.; abdominal belts a specialty.—Emilie, 17, Burlington Arcade.

DRINK DELICIOUS SALUTARIS GINGER ALE. Absolutely safe; made from distilled water. Ask your grocer or write, Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advertisement).

FREE! FREE!!—Over 200 PATTERNS genuine Irish Linen Fabric—"Flaxzella"—ideal for skirts and blouses. Smart, washable, durable. Beautiful shades; latest fashionable designs. Write to-day. Hutton's, 167, Larne, Ireland.

KNITTED CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

LADIES' HAIR COMBINGS. — Send your combings and P.O. 2s. to-day, and within a few hours we will return them to you made into a beautiful tail, with all the sheen and softness of "live" hair. Ours is a special hygienic process which enables us to transform your combings into glossy tails at an extremely low price. Our Free Booklet, containing a mine of information, will be sent on receipt of a postcard. Why not write us now?—Wootton's, Specialists in Hairwork (Dept. 2B), Ipswich.

PEACH'S LACE CURTAINS.—Send for descriptive book, post free. 650 examples from the actual makers. Imperial Patent Hem Curtains, new straight edges. Casement Fabrics, Muslins, Cretonne, Linens, Underwear.—S. Peach and Sons, 271, The Looms, Nottingham.

64-PAGE BOOK about HERBS and HOW TO USE THEM, free. Send for one.—Trimnell, The Herbalist, 144, Richmond Road, Cardiff. Established 1879.

TYPEWRITING and TRANSLATIONS.—Literary and Dramatic work a speciality. Best work. Special terms to members W.S.P.U.—Mrs. Marks, The Moorgate Typewriting Co., 63, Finsbury Pavement, E.C. Tel.: 5638 London Wall

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To the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Please insert the undermentioned Advertisement in VOTES FOR WOMEN *for* .... *Insertions to be published* .... *for which I enclose the sum of £ s. d.*

Name ....

Date ....

Address ....

WRITE ADVERTISEMENT HERE

Classified Advertisement Rate, 1d. a word; minimum, 2s. Four Insertions for the price of three.

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